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SASKATCHEWAN—THE MODERN SCOT ON HIS SELF-BINDER.

SCOTS IN CANADA

A HISTORY OF THE SETTLEMENT OF THE DOMINION FROM THE EARLIEST DAYS TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY

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THE CHAIN OF EMPIRE.

Where were you when the Spirit called you forth?
Dreaming in old-world gardens sweet with stocks,
Or 'mid the purple heather of the North,
Watching the wanderings of your half-wild flocks,
Till some white gull's wing glistened o'er the rocks,

And took your eyes out seaward, where the wind
Filled the strong sails, and mocked your idle rest?
How could you, Viking-bred, have stayed behind,
You, who had sucked at that old mother's breast,
Whose children win the world from East to West.

How could you rest, whilst thick on every hand
The air grew foul with smoke, men cried for bread,
With half a world untrod, they prayed for land,
For room to breathe, for leave to work and wed?
They needed leaders. God be praised:—you led.

What was it that ye slew? An old world's gloom.
What won? A staunching of sweet woman's tears;
Bread for the children; for the strong men room;
Empire for Britain; for your failing years
Rest, in the front rank of Her pioneers.

CLIVE PHILLIPPS-WOOLLEY.

SCOTS IN CANADA

CHAPTER I.

The North-west Trail.

Taking shape as human life upon a globe that whirls monotonously round the sun, the Spirit of the World has been impelled for many thousand years into a westward motion. Where that human life began is still uncertain, and how it fought the Northern Ice is just as much a subject for geologists and anthropologists as for historians and Reuters. But so far as we can guess, from somewhere near the Persian Gulf, where Adam in his irrigated garden lived a more or less unhappy life with Eve, the human race that we know most about set its face to follow the sun, spreading slowly over the land till it met the ocean, and across the ocean till it met the land again. Tribe followed tribe, nation followed nation, race

followed race, not always on each other's heels, but sometimes by divergent paths which met again, and there was war.

The paths diverged. There was West and North-west, and between them was West by Nor'-west, and so on—see the Mariner's Compass. The folk that this tale tells of belong to those that followed and are following the North-west trail, swinging through northern fiords across the salt, salt sea to the little group of islands that we know as "Home," and from home again out to the West.

What wonder the Scot thinks of it as home! It is so near to the heart. The bee sucks honey in the heather, and through the heather sings many a Highland burn. If the air has anything to carry it is the scent of the fir, and the sunshine, and the swirling mist, and the wind. The wind may be high, and the mist sometimes be heavy, but a cosy peat fire burns in the wee house down there. It's a wee house, but it's home.

Over a thousand years ago the Norsemen swept across the foam in their sea rovings. They harried the coasts of Scotland and of England and of Gaul, and lit the road back to their ships with the torch of burning spires. But some of them were sea-weary, and some of

the women that they found were fair. No wonder that some of them found home.

Some of them came upon the Northern Islands before the Message of the Cross had reached them, wild pagans falling on the six and fifty islands of the Orkneys. There they harried and married a Celtic folk, an earlier wave of the same westward motion of the same Spirit of the World. A few pushed on to Iceland and to Greenland, and one Bjarni Herjulfson sighted the glaciers and high hills of Labrador, while another, in the year one thousand, Leif Erickson, son of Eric the Red, skirted the same wild coast till he reached, or said he reached, the still mysterious Vineland.

Many a Yarl found home in the Islands and in the Highlands, as far south as Sutherland and down even to the Isle of Man. In the Orkneys and in the Hebrides we find his children still, half fishermen, half farmers, looking upon the other Scots as aliens, just as the other Scots look upon the Orkneys as the Islands of the Stranger.

The Norseman was a pagan when he first came to the Orkneys, and to Greenland, and to Labrador, but on his faring he met the Message of the Cross, and the Cross came also up to Norway. The Light of the Cross lit up all Europe, and the

Shadow of the Cross fell over Europe. It was to bring the Light of the Cross that Eric Gnupsson, in the year of our Lord eleven hundred and twenty-one, sailed out for that almost visionary Vineland. Erling Sighvatson and Bjarni Thorharson and Eindrid Oddson carved their stone inscription on an island in Baffin's Bay, "on Saturday before Ascension Week, eleven hundred and thirty-five."

The Norse who swooped down upon the Orkneys and the Western Isles were pirates sure enough, but they were pirates more by circumstance than by inherent villainy. Up in Norway they were tenant farmers, driven to emigration because of heavy taxes, and when they came to Scotland they were homemakers just as much as homebreakers. So fair a home they found that they became guid Scots lords and roved the sea, only to harry the land from which they hailed.

Another wave of Northmen came to the Scottish Lowlands by the eastern coast and eastern England. The English called them Danes, doing them homage under stress of battleaxe. But the Danes, too, harried as well as married, and came to speak the English tongue, adding a lilt of their own. On the eastern coast they swept and settled, and along the

southern coast of Devon and the Bristol Channel. It was not all plain sailing.

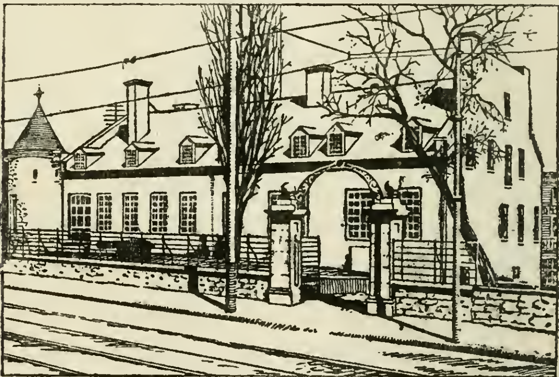
> See you the windy levels spread
> About the gates of Rye?
> O that was where the Northmen fled
> When Alfred's ships came by.

But on the whole they won, and some of them remained seafarers, fishing up from Scarborough to Scotland, and trading with the Baltic and the North of Europe.

This Anglo-Danish stock had rested but a little before another wave of Northmen swung up from that part of Gaul named Normandy. King Harold fell at Hastings, and as the Normans fought their way through England the Anglo-Danes were pushed back closer into the Scottish Lowlands, where in truth they found many a Northman cousin. Malcolm Canmore, Celtic King of Scotland, married first Ingebiorge, daughter of Thorfinn of the Isles, and then as second wife took Margaret, sister of the exiled Eadgar Aetheling. Thus did two waves meet again. The third wave caught them up ere they were half aware. Malcolm Canmore lived to do homage to the Conqueror William. Robert the Bruce, hero of Bannockburn, was Norman. William Wallace was very likely the same; while in the Frasers, Chisholms,

Menzies, and the Stewarts themselves we have not Celtic chieftains but adventurous Northmen once of Gaul, then English, and now Scots.

For a time the Lowland Scot held back the Norman English, and to strengthen their defence they formed alliance with the King of France. Under the shadow



CHATEAU RAMEZAY.

of that Ancient League, many Scots went South to serve the Golden Lilies, gaining seigneuries for their valour under names that curiously reappear in Nouvelle France —such as that "de Ramezay," whose Chateau landmarks Old Quebec. Who so likely as those Franco-Scots, rovers and warriors and merchants and colonisers by instinct, to be the pioneers for France

adventuring into the New World. The first known pilot of the St. Lawrence was Abraham Martin, *dit l'Ecossais*, registered as such in 1621, who gave his name to the historic Plains of Abraham.

From the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries Scots merchants shipped to Northern Europe, importing wines in exchange for fish, trading in 1518 more particularly with Dieppe. Berwick-on-Tweed became as great a port as Rotterdam. Later, the supremacy of England led to Navigation Laws which tied up Scottish ports, ousting them from their share in the English shipping privileges and colonial trade. It was to break these fetters that so much Scots gold poured into the Darien Scheme in 1695, the Company of Scotland which had hoped to found a settlement to hold the key to the commerce of the world.

From Dieppe and Rouen and Honfleur the merchants and skippers of Normandy traded with and harried the rest of Europe. At the end of the fifteenth century, when the World was beginning to realise that it was round, the pilots and pirates of Dieppe were in their element—on the sea—raiding the Spanish and the Portuguese, who had forestalled them in the discovery of America, and

following that discovery farther North along with their Breton neighbours of St. Malo on the coast of Newfoundland and Labrador. Jean Ango, of Dieppe, was such a merchant, and such a skipper was Jean Denys, of Honfleur, who went with pilot Gamart to Newfoundland in 1506, and Thomas Aubert, who, three years later, brought back seven wild Indians to amaze Rouen.

Ever since the Shadow of the Cross fell over Europe there were many fast days, and with those fast days grew an appetite for fish. This appetite for fish had no small part in drawing the Spirit of the World across the seas to Northern America. Out over the sea went the sea-rovers—Norman, Breton, Basque, English, and Scot—from Rouen, from St. Malo, from La Rochelle, from Dartmouth and Bristol, from Scarborough and Berwick and Leith, from the Orkneys to Iceland and to Greenland and the Dogger Banks, those fishermen and rovers who were the forerunners and the skippers and the crews of the French who later pushed up into the St. Lawrence, or of the English who swept the Spanish Main, or of the adventurers trading into Hudson Bay.

John Cabot came to Bristol for his crew, and came back from his finding of

Newfoundland full of fisherman's tales. In 1510 it is recorded that the vessel *Jacquette* arrived at Rouen to sell fish caught in Terre Neuve. In 1517 "full a hundred sail of French" loaded with fish at Newfoundland. In 1522 English men-of-war were stationed in the Channel to protect the returning fishing fleets from the same Banks. In 1534 Jacques Cartier met a fishing vessel from La Rochelle in the Straits of Belle Isle looking for the harbour of Brest on the coast of Labrador. In 1542 an English Act was passed to encourage fisheries and imposing a fine on merchants buying fish from France, "Provided furthermore that this Act or anything contained therein shall not extend to any person which shall buy any fisshe in any partis of Iseland, Scotlands, Orkeney, Shatlande, Ireland, or Newland." The records centre round the so-called English and the so-called French. But it is significant that the ships which later sailed from Gravesend for the Company of Adventurers Trading into Hudson Bay never failed to call at the Orkneys for their crews.

From Newfoundland and Labrador the merchants, the pirates, the skippers, the fishermen, and the adventurers found their way up the St. Lawrence, and thus

comes Canada into our history. The history of Canada is intimately woven with the history of its whole Continent and of the older world. It might at one time have fallen to Portugal, at another to the Basques. It was discovered by a Genoese and claimed by Spain. But the history of the settlement has in the main been the history of the North-west Trail—of Northmen, Normans, and Scots, waves of the same great human tide for ever pressing to the West under the impulse of economic circumstance and the inspiration of bold adventure.

CHAPTER II.

The French Dominion.

Although the first exploration of the Canadian coast was by a Genoese with a crew from Bristol, the earliest successful settlement was by the Norman French. These Norman settlers followed in the wake of Breton, Basque, and Norman fishermen, and more particularly of a Breton sailor, Jacques Cartier by name. The maps of Cartier's discoveries on the St. Lawrence were published at Dieppe, and the Normans gradually assumed the lead in the development of New France. In 1600 Pierre de Chauvin, a shipowner of Honfleur, sailed for Canada as Lieutenant of the King of France, on a fur-trading adventure, and made the first real settlement at Tadousac. He had the exclusive privilege of trade, and when he died the enterprise was taken over by a company headed by Aymar de Chastes, Governor of Dieppe. It was de Chastes who sent out Champlain from Honfleur in *La Bonne Renommée* on the 15th of March, 1603. Ten years later the movements of the emigrants began in earnest, and the emigrants were mostly

Norman. That is why the French spoken in French Canada to-day is more or less a Norman patois. A company to colonise New France was formed in 1614 with an exclusive charter, and the stock was offered in equal shares to the merchants of Normandy, Brittany, and La Rochelle. But the Rochellois backed out and the Bretons were half-hearted, so that when Richelieu consolidated the enterprise in

MEDAL STRUCK FOR LOUIS THE MAGNIFICENT.

1627, with himself as head, the operations were directed by a committee of merchants of Rouen, Dieppe, and Paris. It was on the representations of a pirate sailor of Dieppe, Desnambuc by name, who had settled in St. Kitts, that Richelieu in the preceding year had granted the charter of colonisation for the French "Company of the Islands of America" to colonise the West Indies.

The old spirit of the Northmen found

in Canada a wonderful new field. Here was a country of vast and intricate waterways, where the birch-bark canoe served the purpose of the children of the Vikings. The Norman made a sturdy settler and just as good a trader, a hunter, and an explorer. In the year 1634, when Champlain, the great coloniser, felt the approach of death, he confided to Nicollet, a Norman, the tales he had heard tell by the Indians of a great Western sea, and sent him out to search for it. Nicollet reached Wisconsin and the land of the Winnebagoes, and may have reached the basin of the Mississippi. For a time the further work of exploration was barred by hostile Indians; but in 1658 Médard Chouart, born at Meaux but undoubtedly a Norman, set out with the Breton, Pierre Esprit Radisson, in search of furs and that same Western sea. Strangely enough, Chouart's first wife was a daughter of that Abraham Martin, the first Scots pilot of the St. Lawrence, to whom reference already has been made. They made four expeditions, and whether they actually reached the shores of Hudson Bay or not, they certainly were able to plan a later expedition to those shores by sea, the first expedition of the great English Company of Merchant Adventurers.

While those bold hearts were threading the dark forests of the North, Colbert in Paris assumed the direction of French expansion in the New World. This remarkable Minister was proud to claim a Scots descent, no doubt from one of those soldiers of fortune who in the days of the Ancient League fought for France and guarded the person of her king. Colbert conceived a great colonial policy which made Canada one of the gateways to an immense Western Dominion. His study of the explorations may have led him to believe that by way of the St. Lawrence a route could be found behind the Alleghanies which would link the great river of Canada with the mouth of the Mississippi. A regiment of soldiers was sent to hold the Indians in check, a squadron was despatched under the Marquis de Tracey to make a general inspection of these western lands from Guiana up to Canada, forts were built, emigration encouraged, and explorations set on foot. In July, 1669, Robert Cavelier de La Salle, Norman of course, set out from Quebec on the first of those adventurous missions which ended in his paddling down the waters of the Mississippi and claiming the vast hinterland of the Alleghanies for Louis the Magnificent.

Colbert consolidated the various merchant companies of France operating overseas into one great Compagnie des Indies Occidentales, and eventually absorbed this into a department of the Crown. His comprehensive policy was carried on by his son, de Seignelay, and its sweep is seen in the range of raids upon the English and the Dutch possessions made by another Norman Canadian, le Moyne d'Iberville, who harried the English in Acadia, in Newfoundland, and in Hudson Bay, and who completed the settlement of Louisiana commenced by La Salle, by introducing a nucleus of two hundred Canadian *coureurs de bois*.

D'Iberville, however, was more successful as a raider than as a coloniser; and in spite of his Canadians, Louisiana brought but little wealth to its promoters. In the meantime the Canadian fur trade suffered from heavy imposts, and was farmed out to a company of no great merit. The enthusiasm of the French for their colonial possessions began to dwindle until upon the scene appeared a Scot, John Law de Lauriston, an Edinburgh goldsmith, who had found it convenient to transfer his interests to Paris, where he founded a famous bank. This bank took shares in the Canadian

company and renewed the interest in the West. Canada was suffering from lack of emigrants, and Louisiana from lack of capital. John Law resuscitated the Compagnie des Indies Occidentales, and undertook to supply the deficiency in both. Money poured into the coffers of those who dealt in his shares. Most of the interest centred in the Mississippi, and there the cultivation of tobacco, rice, and indigo received an immense impetus. Canada drew little profit from this speculative venture and fortunately still less from its failure.

For a year or two, however, this scheme of Law's renewed an interest in the Western Empire, and, as it happened, this was a time when France was full of Scots, exiles from their native land owing to the failure of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715. From this date begins anew the interest of the Scots in the St. Lawrence, Jacobites most of them and strongly French in sympathy, cousins of the Normans who had preceded them, and fierce opponents of those other Scots who under the English flag attempted a monopoly of trade in the territories of the Hudson Bay. One finds among the followers of Prince Charlie, captured at Culloden in 1745, a certain Charles

Joseph Douglas, Comte et Seigneur de Montreal. It is surely not unreasonable to suppose that it was the old connection with France that drew this early Scot to the country of fur-traders, and after '45 drew many another of his countrymen to seek fresh fortune in the West.

CHAPTER III.

Nova Scotia.

The coming of the Stuarts to the English throne drew a number of proverbially needy Scots to London. The Stuarts were perhaps the neediest of them all,

SIR WILLIAM ALEXANDER.

hence the troubles of that luckless century. They stepped into the inheritance of Elizabethan England—England the mistress of the seas and full of the pride

of Empire. The Plantations of Virginia celebrated the virtues of the Virgin Queen. The Plymouth Company had secured in 1620 a charter for New England. And so in 1621 Sir William Alexander, a learned and poetic Scot, easily won King James's assent to the scheme of a Nova Scotia which at first was to bring renown

SIR WILLIAM ALEXANDER'S MAP OF NOVA SCOTIA.

and then considerable profit to the throne. Sir William was the tutor of the King's son Henry, and thus had the ear of the Court. He secured a charter granting him the territory roughly covered now by the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and of this he was to be Lieutenant-General for James, who made

the grant an appanage of his Kingdom of Scotland. Sir William Alexander hoped to colonise New Scotland with his fellow-countrymen, but these did not come forward in such numbers as expected. The territory was on paper subdivided into two chief districts.

(1) Caledonia, representing the present Nova Scotia.

(2) Alexandria, roughly corresponding to New Brunswick.

In order to complete the link with the original Scotland, the River St. Croix was renamed the Tweed, the St. John was renamed the Clyde, and another river was renamed the Forth. Even so the colony failed to draw its complement of settlers, and its father therefore suggested a new Order of Baronets, who should earn their title by purchasing six thousand acres and contributing £150 to King James's Privy Purse. James unfortunately died, but Charles the First most willingly took up the scheme and confirmed the Order.

Richelieu, however, who knew this territory as Acadia, claimed that it was already French, and sent a squadron to uphold the rights of his own King and the Company in which he happened to

be interested. By a strange chain of circumstance the destruction of this squadron was achieved by a Franco-Scot. David Kirke was the son of a Scot married to the daughter of a merchant of Dieppe, and originally settled as a good French citizen. The father, however, was a Huguenot, and came in exile to England. Here he entered into partnership with Sir William Alexander in a Company of Adventurers to Canada, and in 1628, with the authority of King Charles, fitted out ships under his son David to attack French ships and settlements in New France. First he seized on Tadousac, then he captured seventeen of the eighteen ships that Richelieu had sent, and in the following year, on July 22nd, he forced Champlain to surrender at Quebec. Charles, however, had more use for cash than for such new possessions, and only three years later he restored New France to its old owners in consideration of their remitting the unpaid half of his marriage settlement.

The Scots who had been induced to emigrate to Nova Scotia either came back or were absorbed by their new Norman neighbours. Sir William died, not of a broken heart, but as the Earl

FRASER HIGHLANDERS STORMING THE HEIGHTS AT QUEBEC.

of Stirling, while Sir David Kirke became the Governor of Newfoundland.

Acadia was recaptured by one of Cromwell's expeditions in 1654, but inevitably handed back to France by Charles II. in 1667. It remained a more or less possession of the French till 1713, when most of it was ceded back to England by the Treaty of Utrecht. The name of Nova Scotia was restored, and the first Governor was Colonel Vetch, formerly a Councillor in the ill-fated Scots colony at Darien. The final settlement of Nova Scotia by colonists from New England, by disbanded Scottish soldiers, by United Empire Loyalists, and by the vast tide of emigration that followed on the Highland clearances, will be narrated in a later chapter.

Meanwhile, the Shadow of the Cross had fallen over Europe, and dark things were done in the name of Christ. The impulse of the Reformation spread over the Northern nations, creating the Protestants in England and in Scotland the Covenanters. Elizabethan England stood against Spain for what was Protestant, and to fight the Spaniard English captains swept the Atlantic, planting colonies in the New World. As soon as the Stuarts sought to change the

mode of worship and persecuted the Protestant and the Covenanter, the New World became the refuge of the oppressed. When, for instance, Sir George Carteret sold his rights in New Jersey to the settlers, who were Quakers and Presbyterians, they were gladly joined by a number of Cameronians from Roxburgh and Selkirk who had fled from Scotland rather than break faith with their conscience.

These Western Colonies became the dumping - ground for such as sought to clear the land of contumacious rebels. Scots taken prisoner at Worcester were shipped off to the Barbadoes; unruly Covenanters were covenanted in another sense to West Indian planters, who found them much less dear than slaves. A canting Scot cost his new master just £10, which for the usual life of seven years worked out devilish cheap, and nothing for the burial. Not that they all reached their unhappy destination. Off Deerness in the Orkneys lie the bones of two hundred Covenanters wrecked there on their way to the Plantations. Even when a Protestant like Cromwell came to power emigration did not cease. Cromwell had to make his conquests last, and for such a reason ordered "all

known idle, masterless robbers and vagabonds" in Scotland, male and female, to help populate Jamaica.

But what made Scotland ripe for emigration was the decay of the old Highland chieftainship and system of land tenure, a decay due to the union with the English. In the old days Macdonell of Glengarry maintained a noble retinue, not because his land could well support such followers, but because his life was otherwise hardly quite his own. These were fighting days, and man lived by the broad claymore. But when the English way of life came over the Border the chief began to count his chickens. There were red-coat soldiers now to see that life was safe, and swords were less the fashion than the ploughshare. Those Flemish weavers who had come to England had made Yorkshire one huge factory crying out for wool; so out went the black cattle and the army of retainers and in came the sheep to the wide and profitable pastures. When Pitt demanded Highland regiments these chiefs were glad of the excuse to find the men, and the men were glad to do some soldiering. Otherwise they had naught to look for save some wretched labour in some Lowland city. Culloden

was the last stand made for the Highland clans.

As for the Lowlands, war had made there many a bitter circumstance. The Covenanters were mostly Lowlanders, hailing from round Dumfries or Ayr, or else Kirkcudbright. When the West sent out the call they were glad to listen. And who can blame them?

CHAPTER IV.

War and Settlement.

This is not a tale of warfare, but a tale of settlement, so look not here for gory battles or heroic combats, in which brave Highlanders have shown themselves more than men. At the same time war cleared the way for settlement, and many a bloody fight was fought on many a bloody field before the Scot could ride on his self-binder over the fertile prairies of Saskatchewan. For a time, therefore, let's talk of war.

The '45 left many a bare estate in Scotland, and many a well-born Scot set sail for Canada, hoping there to found a new fortune, either as fur trader or perhaps fighting the English, who were farther South, and had not yet set certain foot on the St. Lawrence. When Wolfe came to Quebec he found it garrisoned not only by Franco-Scots, such as the Commandant de Ramezay, but also by good Jacobites, whose hearts must have been full sore to have to fight the Frasers that he brought with him. But before Wolfe came to Quebec, Louisbourg, on Cape Breton, must be captured, and the outposts of the Canadian French destroyed.

Cape Breton was the refuge for the French driven out of Newfoundland by the Treaty of Utrecht, and Louisbourg was its chief citadel. It had been captured by an expedition of New Englanders from Boston in 1745, but four years after was restored to the French. Then came the Seven Years' War, when France and England fought to the death for the Empire of the West.

It was Duncan Forbes of Culloden who suggested to the elder Pitt to draft the Highlanders into military service. Simon Fraser raised the 78th Regiment, which in 1758 saw its first service at Louisbourg. Here, too, fought the Black Watch, or 42nd, while the 77th Montgomeries, who shipped out with the Frasers, were sent on to attack Fort du Quesne, the site of the present Pittsburg.

In June of 1758 Wolfe landed his men under the guns of Louisbourg, and by July 27th the fortress had surrendered. In the following year he was sent again to take Quebec. The story of that memorable siege and assault has been told so often that it would be idle to repeat it here. It was the Fraser Highlanders who scaled the Heights and showed the path to victory.

Within another year the Black Watch,

the Montgomeries, and a battalion of Royal Highlanders were led by General Amherst to assist General Murray in the siege of Montreal, and by September 8th all Canada was British.

After the peace of 1763 the Frasers and Montgomeries were offered grants of land to settle in the newly conquered

GENERAL MURRAY.

country. Many agreed, and from their settlements in years to come Canada was able to raise regiments of volunteers whose loyalty and valour proved her chief salvation in her hour of need.

Typical of these soldier settlements was that at Murray Bay, where Lieutenant

Fraser and Major Nairn farmed their well-won seigneuries. It was from such settlements that the first battalion of the so-called Royal Highland Emigrants, the 84th, was raised in 1775 under Colonel Allan Maclean to repel the American invaders. Quebec was largely garrisoned by Scots against the assault of Montgomery in that wild year. Such a Scot was Hugh M'Quarters, the gunner who slew Montgomery himself together with his A.D.C.'s in the assault, when, fearing God and keeping his powder dry, he fired his cannon down the fatal path. But all the Scots who garrisoned Quebec were not Pitt's soldiers. Some were such as Cameron, a follower of Prince Charlie, who emigrated after '45 and became a true Canadian. When offered pay for his services in the defence, he refused to take it. "I will help," he said, "to defend the country from our invaders, but I will not take service under the House of Hanover."

The capture of Louisbourg drew the attention of New England colonists once more to this district, and several townships were by them established in the years 1760 to 1770. The Lieutenant-Governor supported claims for grants of land that were made by colonising com-

panies. Several such companies obtained such grants in the neighbourhood of Pictou, but the only one to fulfil its duties and bring in actual settlers was the Philadelphia Company, which was allotted 200,000 acres, and sent six families with supplies of provisions for their use. Of these six families two were Scots, namely, that of Robert Patterson, of Renfrew, who brought with him not only a wife and five children, but also an eight-day clock; and that of John Rogers, of Glasgow, with wife and four children, who also brought from Maryland the seeds of apple-trees that stood at Pictou for over a century. Soon afterwards they were joined by another Scot, James Davidson by name, who inaugurated at Lyons Brook the first Sabbath School in the whole of Canada.

One condition of this grant connects the early settlers of Cape Breton with the British Navy, namely, that they must plant, within ten years from the date of the grant, one rood of every thousand acres with hemp, and must keep a like quantity planted during the succeeding years. Thus did the King seek supplies of cordage for his marine.

John Pagan, a merchant of Greenock, purchased three shares in this Philadelphia

Company and took a portion of its land grant at Pictou in exchange for property he owned in New England. He employed an emigration agent named John Ross, and offered as inducement to come out to Canada a free passage, a farm lot, and a year's provisions. He owned an old Dutch brig which he called the *Hector*, and in the *Hector* he shipped out in July, 1773, his first colonists from the Highlands, 189 souls in all. A Highland piper beguiled the tedium of the voyage on this ancient vessel. "Her sides being painted, according to the fashion, in imitation of gunports, helped to induce the impression that she was a man-o'-war. The Highland dress was then proscribed, but was carefully preserved and fondly cherished by the Highlanders, and in honour of the occasion (of their landing) the young men had arrayed themselves in their kilts, with skein dhu, and some with broadswords. As she dropped anchor the piper blew his pipes to their utmost power; its thrilling sounds then first startling the echoes among the silent solitudes of our forests."

The ground was still uncleared and did not at all agree with the Land of Promise which John Ross had pictured to them, but they struggled through the first hard

years and prospered. Three years later they were joined by other Scots from Prince Edward Island, who had emigrated thither from Dumfries, but had been eaten out by locusts.

"The most of the Highlanders were very ignorant," says Dr. Patterson, the historian of Pictou. "Very few of them could read, and books were unknown among them. The Dumfries settlers were much more intelligent in religion and everything else. They had brought with them a few religious books from Scotland, some of which were lost in Prince Edward Island, but the rest were carefully read. In the year 1779 John Patterson brought a supply of books from Scotland, among which was a plentiful supply of the New England primer, which was distributed among the young, and the contents of which they soon learned."

In 1783 the Scots settlers were augmented by disbanded soldiers of the 82nd or Hamilton Regiment. Land forfeit to the Crown was allotted to these—1,500 acres to Colonel Robertson of Struan, in Perthshire, 700 acres to Captain Fraser, 500 acres to four other officers, 300 acres to another, 200 acres each to 32 non-commissioned officers, 150 acres to two others, and 100 acres each to 120 privates. Some

made little use of their grant, but a number permanently settled.

In the summer of 1784 the settlement was still further increased by another group of disbanded soldiers, this time from the second battalion of the Royal Highland Emigrants. This battalion was recruited during the American Revolutionary War from the Loyalists and from Scots emigrants on their way to the New England Colonies whose vessels were boarded and who were pressed into the King's service.

"They were not only in poverty, but many were in debt for their passage, and they were now told that by enlisting they would have their debts paid, have plenty of food as well as full pay, and would receive for each head of a family two hundred acres of land and fifty more for each child as soon as the present unnatural rebellion is suppressed."

In the same year eight Highland families arrived, *via* Halifax, from Scotland—five Frasers, a M'Kay, a M'Kenzie, and a Robertson.

When the first hardships were overcome, these early pioneers wrote to their relatives in Scotland to come out and join them, and thus Pictou became populous. In 1803 the settlement numbered five

hundred souls. It became a centre for shipbuilding under the lead of a Lowland Scot, Captain Lowden. Here is a quotation from Murdoch's History:—

"Pictou, October 25th, 1798.

"Yesterday was launched here, by Messrs. Lowdens, the ship *Harriet*, burthen six hundred tons. She is pierced for twenty-four guns, and supposed to be the largest and finest ship built in this Province. Her bottom is composed of oak and black birch timber, and her upper works, beams, etc., totally of pitch pine: on account of which mode of construction she is said to be little inferior in quality to British-built ships, and does peculiar credit not only to this growing settlement, but to the Province at large."

The so-called Highland Clearances brought large additions to the settlement, especially from 1801 to 1803—as many as 1,309 souls arriving in a single season. The emigrants were sometimes induced to come on unscrupulous promises, such as that they would get sugar from the trees and tea from the roots. In 1803 the *Favourite*, of Kirkcaldy, arrived from Ullapool with five hundred passengers on board. Many emigrants arrived from

Sunderland, having been disbanded in the previous year from Lord Reay's Fencibles.

And so the tale goes on, showing the steady movement of population across from the shores of Scotland to this Nova Scotia. Writing of the settlement at Pictou in the early century, Dr. Patterson says:—

"The Gaelic language was everywhere heard; the customs of their fatherland everywhere seen, and its memories and traditions — in some instances even its superstitions — fondly cherished. Some had been old enough to have been 'out' in the 'Forty-five; many at least remembered Culloden; the sympathies of the majority were with Bonnie Prince Charlie, while all of the older generation had their reminiscences of the scenes of that day."

CHAPTER V.

Lord Selkirk and Prince Edward Island.

Sir William Alexander's map of "New Scotlande" and the "great river of Caneda" does not show Cape Breton as an island, although the charter refers to the "Isle and Continent of Norumbega." Yet Cape Breton was the major portion of his Caledonia, and he meant it to be Scottish, for he made it over to Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar, and in 1629 Lord Ochiltree constructed a fort and attempted to found a colony of sixty people at Baleine Harbour. Lord Ochiltree, however, had not reckoned with Captain Daniel, of Dieppe, who, a few months later, seized and razed the fort for France and deported the settlers. Nicholas Denys established trading ports and fishing settlements along this northern coast, but no general settlement of French was made till after the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, when Cape Breton Island, now called l'Ile Royale, together with the Ile de St. Jean (Prince Edward Island) was left the last French outpost on the Atlantic seaboard on the St. Lawrence gulf. The

fort of Louisbourg was built, and the two islands were offered as refuge for the French Acadians still left in Nova Scotia. These Acadians were mostly Norman, and though the picture of their peaceful village life is idealised in Longfellow's "Evangeline," it is worth quoting in this connection :—

Strongly built were the houses, with frames of oak and of chestnut,
Such as the peasants of Normandy built in the reign of the Henries.
Thatched were the roofs with dormer windows ; and gables projecting
Over the basement below protected and shaded the doorway.
There, in the tranquil evenings of summer, when brightly the sunset
Lighted the village street, and gilded the vanes on the chimneys,
Matrons and maidens sat in snow-white caps and in kirtles
Scarlet and blue and green, with distaffs spinning the golden
Flax for the gossiping looms, whose noisy shuttles within doors
Mingled their sound with the whir of the wheels and the songs of the maidens.

. . . . .

Down the long street she passed with her chaplet of beads and her missal,
Wearing her Norman cap, and her kirtle of blue, and the ear-rings
Brought in the olden times from France, and since, as an heirloom,
Handed down from mother to child, through long generations.

HIGHLAND SETTLERS CAMPING ON THE SHORES OF PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND, 1803.

The Acadians of Nova Scotia were so intrigued by the neighbouring Louisbourg that they were evicted, and many retired to the two French islands. But even here they had but a temporary home. Louisbourg fell, and the Ile Royale and Ile de St. Jean came under the British flag. The unfortunate Acadians were for the most part deported back to France.

Still stands the forest primeval; but under the shade of its branches
Dwells another race, with other customs and language.
Only along the shore of the mournful and misty Atlantic
Linger a few Acadian peasants, whose fathers from exile
Wandered back from their native land to die in its bosom.
In the fisherman's cot the wheel and the loom are still busy;
Maidens still wear their Norman caps and their kirtles of homespun.

When Cartier in 1534 came upon the Ile de St. Jean he found the trees there "marvellously beautiful and pleasant in odour—cedars, pines, yews, white elms, ash trees, willows, and others unknown. Where the land was clear of trees it was good, and abounded in red and white gooseberries, peas, strawberries, raspberries, and wild corn, like rye, having almost the appearance of culti-

vation. The climate was most pleasant and warm. There were doves and pigeons and many other birds." As already described this island was settled by and then depleted of Norman-French, so that it had very few white inhabitants when the new settlement was initiated under British rule.

In 1767 a number of grants of land were made, of which, however, only a few were put into immediate use. Judge Stewart, in 1771, brought his family from Cantyre, in Argyllshire, to form the nucleus of a Highland colony. In the following year arrived a further batch of Highland settlers under Captain Macdonald of Glenalladale. In 1774 the population of the island was increased by a settlement of Lowlanders from Dumfries under Wellwood Waugh of Lockerbie, but these were discouraged by a pest of locusts, and migrated to Pictou. The settlement, however, of which we have the most interesting record was that initiated by Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk. This was in 1803, four years after the island had been renamed "Prince Edward Island." "Of these settlers," says Lord Selkirk, "the greatest proportion were from the Isle of Skye, a district which had so

decided a connection with North Carolina that no emigrants had ever gone from it to any other quarter. There were a few from Ross-shire, from the north part of Argyllshire, and from some interior districts of Inverness-shire, all of whose connections lay in some parts of the United States. There were some also from a part of the Island of Uist, where the emigration had not taken a decided direction."

Three ships were chartered to convey the colonists to their destination, containing altogether eight hundred souls, and reaching the island on the 7th, 9th, and 27th of August, 1803. Lord Selkirk had intended to precede them and make preparations for their arrival, but in this he was prevented, and when he did make his appearance the first ship had already disembarked her passengers.

"I lost no time in proceeding to the spot, where I found that the people had already lodged themselves in temporary wigwams, constructed after the fashion of the Indians, by setting up a number of poles in a conical form, tied together at top, and covered with boughs of trees. Those of the spruce fir were preferred, and, when disposed in regular layers of sufficient thickness, formed a very sub-

stantial thatch, giving a shelter not inferior to that of a tent.

"The settlers had spread themselves along the shore for the distance of about half a mile, upon the site of an old French village, which had been destroyed and abandoned after the capture of the island by the British forces in 1758. The land, which had formerly been cleared of wood, was overgrown again with thickets of young trees, interspersed with grassy glades.

"I arrived at the place late in the evening, and it had then a very striking appearance. Each family had kindled a large fire near their wigwams, and round these were assembled groups of figures, whose peculiar national dress added to the singularity of the surrounding scene. Confused heaps of baggage were everywhere piled together beside their wild habitations; and by the number of fires the whole woods were illuminated. At the end of this line of encampment I pitched my own tent, and was surrounded in the morning by a numerous assemblage of people whose behaviour indicated that they looked to nothing less than a restoration of the happy days of Clanship. . .

"Provisions, adequate to the whole demand, were purchased by an agent; he

procured some cattle for beef in distant parts of the island, and also a large quantity of potatoes, which were brought by water carriage into the centre of the settlement, and each family received their share within a short distance of their own residence. . . .

"To obviate the terrors which the woods were calculated to inspire, the settlement was not dispersed, as those of the Americans usually are, over a large tract of country, but concentrated within a moderate space. The lots were laid out in such a manner that there were generally four or five families, and sometimes more, who built their houses in a little knot together; the distance between the adjacent hamlets seldom exceeded a mile. Each of them was inhabited by persons nearly related, who sometimes carried on their work in common, or, at least, were always at hand to come to each other's assistance. . . .

"The settlers had every inducement to vigorous exertion from the nature of their tenures. They were allowed to purchase in fee simple, and to a certain extent on credit; from fifty to one hundred acres were allotted to each family at a very moderate price, but none was given gratuitously. To accommodate those who

had no superfluity of capital, they were not required to pay the price in full till the third or fourth year of their possession.

"I left the island in September, 1803; and after an extensive tour on the Continent, returned in the end of the same month the following year. It was with the utmost satisfaction I then found that my plans had been followed up with attention and judgment.

"I found the settlers engaged in securing the harvest which their industry had produced. They had a small proportion of grain of various kinds, but potatoes were the principal crop; these were of excellent quality, and would have been alone sufficient for the entire support of the settlement. . . . The extent of land in cultivation at the different hamlets I found to be in the general in a proportion of two acres or thereabouts to each able working hand: in many cases from three to four. Several boats had also been built, by means of which a considerable supply of fish had been obtained, and formed no trifling addition to the stock of provisions. Thus, in little more than a year, one year from the date of their landing on the island, had these people made themselves independent of

any supply that did not arise from their own labour. . . .

"Having secured the first great object, subsistence, most of them are now proceeding to improve their habitations, and some are already lodged in a manner superior to the utmost wishes they would have formed in their native country. . . . The commencement of improvement to be seen in some of these habitations is, I believe, not so much of a personal wish for better accommodation as of the pride of landed property, a feeling natural to the human breast, and particularly consonant to the antient habits of the Highlanders. . . . One of a very moderate property, who had held a small possession in the Isle of Sky, traces his lineage to a family which had once possessed an estate in Ross-shire, but had lost it in the turbulence of the feudal times. He had given to his new property the name of the antient seat of his family; has selected a situation with more taste than might have been expected from a mere peasant; and to render the house of Auchtertyre worthy of its name, is doing more than would otherwise have been thought of by a man of his station."

NEW BRUNSWICK—WILLIAM DAVIDSON, CANADA'S FIRST LUMBERMAN, CUTTING MASTS FOR THE BRITISH NAVY.

CHAPTER VI.

The City of the Loyalists.

The interplay of Scots and French in the early settlement of North America finds no stranger illustration than in the tale of the la Tours and their attempts to colonise the St. John Valley. This is the richest district in what is now the Province of New Brunswick, but what in the seventeenth century was part of Acadia or Nova Scotia, according to the point of view. Samuel de Champlain, who in 1604 was sent out by a company of merchants of Rouen and La Rochelle to accompany the Sieur de Monts on a colonising mission, was accompanied by 120 emigrants, and spent a winter on an island in the St. Croix River. Nearly half died of scurvy, and the colony removed next spring to Port Royal. This failure was, however, only the prelude to further settlement; and in 1609 Claude Etienne de la Tour decided that the land was good. In 1627, when Richelieu was founding the Company of One hundred Associates, Claude de la Tour went to France to secure the Governorship of

Acadia for his son Charles. Captured on the voyage back by Sir David Kirke, he was transferred to England, where he shrewdly took advantage of Sir William Alexander's Nova Scotia scheme, and in 1630 obtained for himself and for his son two Nova Scotia baronetcies. At the head of a body of Scots colonists, Sir Claude de la Tour settled at Port Royal. The baronetcy awarded to his son Charles carried with it a grant of land on the river, which Sir William Alexander named the Clyde, but which the French called the St. John. To make his tenure doubly sure, Charles, who had built for himself Fort Latour, got himself named Lieutenant-Governor by the French king in 1631, a most wise move, since in the following year Acadia was restored to France by the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye. For twenty years and more the younger la Tour traded and fought with his neighbours, the French, at Port Royal, and the New Englanders at Boston, till in 1654 a fleet of Cromwell's ships appeared at Fort Latour and hoisted the British flag. Charles therefore went to England and laid before Cromwell his claims as a Nova Scotia baronet under the charter of Sir William Alexander. The grant was confirmed,

indeed extended so as to cover nearly all Acadia. The versatile Sir Charles married the widow of his deadliest enemy, and died at peace with man and womankind in 1663.

Five Norman brothers ruled in the St. John Valley in the later years of this century, sons of Charles le Moyne, and naming themselves Menneval, Portneuf, Villebon, d'Iberville, and des Isles, but in 1702 the fort was abandoned, and the valley almost deserted by its French settlers. The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 ceded Acadia once again to England, but the French now claimed that the St. John Valley was part not of Acadia but of Canada, and strengthened their position by encouraging Acadian refugees to settle on the river banks. Canada was still a vague, unlimited empire, stretching behind the Alleghanies to Louisiana and out to the unknown West, and this St. John Valley was the gateway of an overland route to that Empire. Not till 1758 was this gateway definitely closed to them, when General Monckton forcibly occupied the territory, burning out the villages of the French and deporting such as he did not kill.

Settlement under the British rule commenced in 1762, when land was offered

to the neighbouring New Englanders, and more particularly to disbanded soldiers who had served in North America during the late war, and to retired officers of the Navy who had fought at Louisbourg and at Quebec. The Government was inundated with demands for land. Thus Sir Allan M'Lean, whose ancestor, Sir Laughlan M'Lean, was a Nova Scotia baronet, and who himself had been a captain in Montgomery's Highlanders, applied for a modest 200,000 acres. Such speculative applications, however, led to little settlement, and many grants were declared forfeit in 1783, on the arrival of the Loyalists.

Of more real benefit to the development of the country were such colonists as William Davidson, of Inverness, the pioneer of the great lumber industry, who came to Miramichi in 1765 and obtained a grant of 100,000 acres, traded in furs, and developed the fisheries. Four years later Davidson undertook to deliver at Fort Howe, in Nova Scotia, masts for the British Navy. Masts at this time fetched £136 sterling if they could measure a diameter of 3ft. and a length of 108ft. His success was the foundation of an industry which for a century has been

the chief source of revenue to the Province.

The great settlement of the St. John Valley dates, however, from the coming of the United Empire Loyalists in 1783. St. John, indeed, is known to-day as the City of the Loyalists. Nearly twelve thousand souls arrived at the river mouth in this historic year, and many of these were Scots. One group of lots in Parrtown, as it then was called, fell to men of the 42nd Highlanders.

No migration in the history of peoples carried with it more romance, more tragedy, than this movement of the Loyalists, men and women who gave up home and fortune in the rebel colonies further South. The bravest hearts and finest intellects sailed from New York to this more northern coast, or struggled up by land through the inhospitable forest to the unknown Canada. Their axes cleared the land for the new settlements; they faced the privations of winter and the old pioneering hardships rather than be traitors to the flag of their forefathers.

In 1784 New Brunswick was created a separate Province, and the Loyalists who settled on the St. John Valley and along its coasts proved themselves

no mean people. They throve and prospered, and by their success encouraged the settlement of new immigrants from Scotland. The Highlands at that time were suffering from the clearances which swept the glens so pitilessly. Then the distress that naturally followed the great Napoleonic wars forced the Lowland unemployed to emigrate or starve. Driven by such economic circumstances the Scots surged over the Atlantic, and on New Brunswick's shores they founded settlements which in later days have sent out Canada's most famous citizens, hard-headed men of affairs, and canny as the Scots that were their forebears.

CHAPTER VII.

Glengarry, Ontario.

The Loyalist migration into British territory moved in two great streams, one by sea to Nova Scotia (including New Brunswick, which did not become a separate entity till 1784), and the other by land to Canada, which was still an entirely distinct colony. In this second stream were a number of Highland families which had only recently settled in the Colony of New York—Macdonells, Chisholms, Grants, Camerons, M'Intyres, Fergusons, and the like, only too well acquainted with war in their native Scotland, and now again engulfed in the miseries of a rebellion.

Prominent among these Highland families were the Macdonells, Roman Catholics from Glengarry, in Inverness, who in 1773 had settled in the Mohawk Valley, Tryon County (afterwards called Montgomery). When the movement for Independence set in throughout the New England Colonies, Sir John Johnson, the leader in this district, headed the Highlanders in a Loyalist movement which brought them into such suspicion that

they found it prudent to withdraw to Canada. There Sir John received a commission to raise on the Frontier a battalion to be called the King's Royal Regiment of New York. In this battalion there were five captains of the name of Macdonell, not to mention a lieutenant and an ensign, and twenty-two

MACDONELL ARMORIAL BEARINGS.

of the officers were born in Scotland. The claymores "dented by blows on the bayonets of Cumberland's Grenadiers," laid waste the settlements of Albany and Tryon, and protected the Loyalists trekking north to Canada. When the war was over, and they had to be disbanded, large numbers of this regiment settled in

ONTARIO—A GLENGARRY SETTLER.

the uncleared but fertile bush on the banks of the St. Lawrence west of the French. The officers and men of the First Battalion of the King's Royal Regiment, numbering with their women and children 1,462 souls, settled together in one body. The Glengarry families chose what is now known as the County of Glengarry, in Ontario, while others filled up the Counties of Stormont and Dundas. Many families of men belonging to the Royal Highland Emigrants also settled in this neighbourhood. In his history of the County of Glengarry, J. A. Macdonell, Q.C., gave the list of Scots in this county who were entitled to the name of United Empire Loyalist — 588 in all, of whom 84 were Macdonells, 35 Grants, 28 Campbells, 27 Frasers, 25 Camerons, 23 Andersons, and 20 Rosses. From their farms they must have grown familiar with the sight of the *voyageurs* coming and going on the broad St. Lawrence to and from the great Mart at Montreal. Some such as Duncan Cameron, of whom more later, cast in their lot with the fur traders, or articled their sons with the North-West Company.

The problem of escorting to the new settlement the wives and children whom

they perforce had had to leave behind presented no small difficulties. South of the Lakes lay deep morass and almost impenetrable forest, full of marauding Indians, while the white folk whom they passed were embittered by the war. Mr. J. A. Macdonell tells an entertaining story of a Scots officer who fell in with one of the veterans surviving from this period. After hearing the story of those strenuous times the officer expressed his admiration, saying, "The only instance I know that I can at all compare it to is that of Moses leading the children of Israel into their Promised Land." Up jumped old John. "Moses!" said he, "compare *me* to Moses! Moses be d——d! He lost half his army in the Red Sea, and I brought my party through without losing one man!"

The method of settlement is said to have been as follows: "When they arrived at their destination the soldiers found the Government Land Agent, and thereupon drew lots for the lands that had been granted to them. The townships in which the different corps were to settle being first arranged, the lots were numbered on small slips of paper and placed in a hat, when each soldier

in turn drew his own. By exercising a spirit of mutual accommodation it frequently resulted that old comrades who had stood side by side in the ranks now sat down side by side on the banks of the St. Lawrence.

"The first operation of the new settler was to erect a shanty. Each, with his axe on his shoulder, turned out to help the other, and in a short time everyone in the little colony was provided with a snug log cabin. All were evidently planned by the same architect, differing only in size, which was regulated by the requirements of the family, the largest not exceeding twenty feet by fifteen feet inside, and of one storey in height. They were built somewhat similar to the modern backwoodsman's shanty. Round logs, roughly notched together at the corner, and piled one above the other to the height of seven or eight feet, constituted the walls. Openings for a door, and one small window, designed for four lights of glass seven by nine, were cut out, the spaces between the logs were chinked with small splinters, and carefully plastered outside and inside, with clay for mortar. Smooth straight poles were laid lengthways of the building, on the walls, to serve as supports for the roof. This was composed of strips of

elm bark, 4ft. in length, by 2ft. or 3ft. in width, in layers, overlapping each other, and fastened to the poles by widths. With a sufficient slope to the back this formed a roof which was proof against wind and weather. An ample hearth, made of flat stones, was then laid out, and a fire-back of field stone or small boulders, rudely built, was carried up as high as the walls. Above this the chimney was formed of round poles notched together, and plastered with mud. The floor was of the same material as the walls, only that the logs were split in two, and flattened so as to make a tolerably even surface.

"The settlers were provided by Government with everything that their situation rendered necessary—food and clothes for three years, or until they were able to provide these for themselves; besides seed to sow on their new clearances, and such implements of husbandry as were required. Each received an axe, a hoe, and a spade; a plough and one cow were allotted to two families; a whip and cross-cut saw to every fourth family, and even boats were provided for their use and placed at convenient points on the river. Even portable corn-mills, consisting of steel plates, turned by hand like a

coffee-mill, were distributed amongst the settlers. The operation of grinding in this way was of necessity very slow, it came besides to be considered a menial and degrading employment, and, as the men were all occupied out of doors, it usually fell to the lot of the women. . . . Pork was then, as now, the staple article of animal food, and it was usual for the settlers, as soon as they had received their rations, to smoke their bacon, and then hang it up to dry."

These Loyalist settlers found the French tenure of land burdensome. They asked for the same laws and tenure of land as Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The request was granted, and in 1791 Upper Canada was separated from the French or Lower Canada, and constitutional government was allowed, which enabled the settlers to decide the tenure of their land for themselves.

In 1785 came an additional five hundred settlers to this district from Knoydart, in Glengarry. Their arrival at Quebec was chronicled as follows by the Quebec *Gazette*:—

"Quebec, 7th September, 1785.

"Arrived ship *McDonald*, Captain Robert Stevenson, from Greenock, with

emigrants, nearly the whole of a parish in the north of Scotland, who emigrated with their priest (the Reverend Alexander Macdonell Scotus), and nineteen cabin passengers, together with 520 steerage passengers, to better their case."

The success of these settlements induced others to follow. In 1793 Captain Alexander M'Leod chartered a vessel and brought out with him from Glenelg forty families of M'Leods, M'Gillivrays, M'Cuaigs, and M'Intoshes. These settled at Kirkhill, in the north of the county, and in 1799 were followed by Camerons from Lochiel, who settled at Lochiel.

The next great influx is sufficiently explained by the following letter from Lord Hobart, Secretary of State for the Colonies, to Lieutenant-General Hunter, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada:

"Downing Street,
"1st March, 1803.

"Sir,

"A body of Highlanders, mostly Macdonells, and partly disbanded soldiers of the Glengarry Fencible Regiment, with their families and immediate connections, are upon the point of quitting their present place of abode, with the design of following into Upper Canada some of

their relatives who have already established themselves in that Province.

"The merit and services of the Regiment, in which a proportion of these people have served, give them strong claims to any mark of favour and consideration which can consistently be extended to them; and with the encouragement usually afforded in the Province, they would no doubt prove as valuable settlers as their connections now residing in the District of Glengarry, of whose industry and general good conduct very favourable representations have been received here.

"Government has been apprised of the situation and disposition of the families before described by Mr. Macdonell, one of the Ministers of their Church, and formerly Chaplain to the Glengarry Regiment, who possesses considerable influence with the whole body.

"He has undertaken, in the event of their absolute determination to carry into execution their plan of departure, to embark with them and direct their course to Canada.

"In case of their arrival within your Government, I am commanded by His Majesty to authorise you to grant in the usual manner a tract of the

unappropriated Crown lands in any part of the Province where they may wish to fix, in the proportion of 1,200 acres to Mr. Macdonell, and two hundred acres to every family he may introduce into the Colony.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,
"Your most obedient, humble servant,
"HOBART."

In the same year arrived another ship bearing a further 1,100 souls, mostly from Glenelg and Kintail. The settlers frequently maintained the name of the district in Scotland from which they originated. Thus McLeods from Skye centred round Dunvegan; Glenelg was the settlement of McLeods from Glenelg; Chisholms were to be found at Strathglass; Macdonalds at Uist. From the census of 1852 Colonel Alexander Chisholm classified the various Highland clans at that time traceable in Glengarry, as follows:—

Macdonell and M'Donald	3,228
McMillan - - -	545
McDougall - - -	541
McRae - - -	456
McLeod - - -	437
Grant - - -	415
Cameron - - -	399

McGillis	359
Kennedy	333
McLennan	322
Campbell	304
McIntosh	262
McGillivray	243
McKinnon	242
McPherson	195
Fraser	176
McPhee	157
McIntyre	140
Ross	139
Chisholm	133
McGregor	114
Ferguson	110
McLaren	102
McKenzie	99
Morrison	99
McCormick	83
McMartin	72
McKay	72
McArthur	70
McLauchlan	68
Cattanach	50

On the approach of war with the American States in 1812, a proposal, originally made some years before by Colonel John Macdonell, to raise a corps of Glengarry Fencibles from Highland Catholics of that county, was carried

into effect. The Reverend Alexander Macdonell, the Catholic priest referred to in Lord Hobart's letter, was designedly selected as chaplain of the corps, with the object of enlisting for the British cause the sympathy of the Catholic French of Lower Canada. The design succeeded. French as well as British were enlisted in the various regiments of Fencibles in addition to the Corps of Voltigeurs. At the same time Ranald Macdonell was sent to recruit at Pictou, and the Highland settlements on the coast and gulf. To Highland dash and valour were due the capture of Detroit, the capture of Ogdensburg, the famous march to Chateaugay, the capture of Oswego.

Most interesting, however, as showing how the Scots and French were linking up together was the Corps des Voyageurs Canadiens, raised by the North-West Fur Trading Company, and officered chiefly by good Scots. Here is the list given in the Quebec "Almanac" of 1813:—

Lieutenant - Colonel Commandant: William Macgillivray.

First Major: Angus Shaw.

Second Major: Archibald MacLeod.

Capitaines: Alexander Mackenzie, John Macdonell, James Hughes, William

Mackay, Pierre de Rocheblave, Kenneth Mackenzie, Junr.

Lieutenants: James Goddard, Peter Grant, William Hall, Joseph Mackenzie, Joseph Macgillivray, Pierre Rotot, Fils.

Paie Maître: Æneas Cameron.

Adjutant: — Cartwright.

Quartier Maître: James Campbell.

Chirurgien: Henry Munro.

Many of these officers were partners, or "bourgeois," in the North-West Company, fur traders of Montreal. In order to understand how these came here, it is necessary for us to retrace our history to the lower reaches of the St. Lawrence and the Province of Lower Canada or Quebec.

CHAPTER VIII.

SCOTS IN QUEBEC.

REFERENCE has been made already to the Scots who were in Quebec before the Frasers stormed it. Such was the Chevalier Johnstone, son of an Edinburgh merchant, who was a captain in the army of Prince Charlie in the 'Forty-five, and fought at Culloden, whose sad history he wrote. Struggling to Holland, he entered the service of France, and in 1748 with several fellow exiles sailed from Rochefort in the company of a troop of French for Cape Breton Island. Chevalier Johnstone has left his diaries of the Sieges of Louisbourg and Quebec, and mentions a French post on the Sillery Heights commanded by an officer of the name of Douglas. This may have been the Comte et Seigneur de Montreal who fought at Culloden, but there were other Douglases in Nouvelle France, descendants of a soldier of adventure who settled in Brittany in 1400. His family moved thence to Picardy, and somehow found their way to Canada, no doubt under the ægis of the Hundred Associates.

Garneau, in his account of the Battle of Carillon, fought on July 8th, 1758, mentions the following curious episode:—

"Some Highlanders, taken prisoners by the French and Canadians, huddled together on the battlefield and expecting to be cruelly treated, looked on in mournful silence. Presently a gigantic French officer walked up to them, and whilst exchanging in a severe tone some remarks in French with some of his men, suddenly addressed them in Gaelic. Surprise in the Highlanders soon turned to positive horror. Firmly believing that no Frenchman could ever speak Gaelic, they concluded that his Satanic Majesty in person was before them. It was a Jacobite serving in the French army."

The French who garrisoned Quebec had a further link with Scotland in three prisoners of war, who, in 1754, disturbed by their gallant bearing the hearts of not a few French ladies. One of these was Captain, afterwards Major, Stobo, a native of Glasgow serving in a corps of Virginian riflemen. Stobo has left a memoir of his escape, and may have been the original of Captain Lismahago in "Humphrey Clinker," as he was a friend of the novelist Smollett. On May 21st he joined, in an attempt to escape, his two

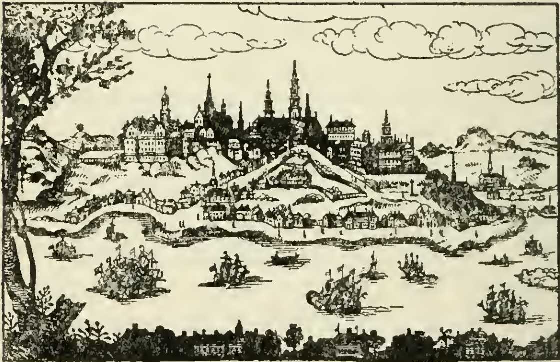
compatriots, Lieutenant Stevenson, of Roger's Rangers, a Virginian Corps, and Clarke, a carpenter of Leith. They met under a windmill—"probably the old windmill on the grounds of the General Hospital Convent. Having stolen a birch canoe, the party paddled it all night, and, after incredible fatigue and danger, they passed Isle-aux-Coudres, Kamouraska, and landed below this spot, shooting two Indians in self-defence, whom Clarke buried after having scalped them, saying to the Major: 'Good sir, by your permission, these same two scalps, when I come to New York, will sell for twenty-four good pounds; with this I'll be right merry, and my wife right beau.'" They then murdered the Indians' faithful dog because he howled, and buried him with his masters. Then, commandeering various boats by the way, they ended by capturing a French sloop, in which they landed at Louisbourg.

Stobo had still a stomach for fighting. He went back to Quebec, offering his services to Wolfe. Knowing the ground so well, he was able to be of great service, and pointed out the path by which the Fraser Highlanders afterwards scaled the heights.

When Montcalm died and Wolfe

had fallen victorious on the Plains of Abraham, it was a Franco-Scot, Major de Ramezay, who handed the keys of the citadel of Quebec to General James Murray.

The Fraser Highlanders were popularly known to the French Canadians as "Les Petites Jupes" or, alternatively, as "Les



QUEBEC IN 1730.

Sauvages d'Ecosse." Joseph Trahan, an eye-witness of the great encounter, has said :—

"I can remember the Scotch Highlanders flying after us with streaming plaids, bonnets, and large swords—like so many infuriated demons—over the brow of the hill."

SIMON FRASER SHOOTING THE RAPIDS OF THE FRASER RIVER.

The Frasers wore the full Highland dress, with musket and broadsword. Many of the soldiers at their own expense added the dirk and the purse of otter's skin. Some of these dirks are still preserved, notably one carried by Sergeant James Thompson, of Tain, which on the blade shows seven heads of kings wearing crowns, while on the hilt are carved on the woodwork emblems of the Masonic craft. The bonnet was cocked on one side, with a slight bend inclining down to the right ear, over which were suspended two or more black feathers. The feathers worn by the officers were those of the eagle or the hawk.

During the winter following the siege and capture a number of the Frasers were quartered in the Ursuline's Convent. The unsophisticated nuns were so distressed at the bare legs of the Highlanders that they begged General Murray to be allowed to provide the poor fellows with raiment.

Some of the Scots officers bought seigneuries such as those at Murray Bay held by Major Nairn and Lieutenant Malcolm Fraser. Not a few of the Scots in the army of occupation married fair French Canadians. Thus in 1770 the Hon William Grant, Receiver-

General of Quebec, wedded the widow of Charles Jacque Le Moine, third Baron de Longueil; while in 1781 his nephew, Captain David Alexander Grant, married her daughter. A record of such intermarriages may be found in the "Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec." The readiness with which the Highlanders who settled in Quebec were absorbed by their French Canadian neighbours is not so difficult to understand when one remembers that the Frasers at any rate were not Celts but Normans. The absorption has had some curious results. Cases are not unknown where, on ceremonial occasions, a French Canadian village has turned out in the kilt, led by the bagpipes, with perhaps only one of the leading citizens able to speak a smattering of English.

The publication of Quebec's first newspaper is credited to Messrs. Brown and Gilmore, two good Scots from Philadelphia, the date of No. 1 being June 21st, 1764.

Most interesting of all the documents connected with these early Scots who settled in French Canada is the Petition, dated 1802, and signed by Alexander Sparks, Minister, and 147 others:—

"To His Most Excellent Majesty, George the Third, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith:

"May it please your Majesty:

"The Humble Petition of Your Majesty's Faithful Subjects of the Congregation of the Church of Scotland, in the City of Quebec, in the Province of Lower Canada,

"Humbly Sheweth:

"That Your Majesty's Petitioners having been educated in the Principles of the Church of Scotland, and being attached to the form of Worship and the Rites and Ceremonies as established in that Church, have supported and paid, during the last thirty-six years, a Minister regularly ordained of the Church of Scotland to perform public worship for them, though as your Petitioners have not had any appropriate place of worship, nor any particular fund from whence to draw the necessary expense, they have been reduced to the necessity of an annual subscription for that purpose, which, besides being subject to variation, they consider as an improper mode of support for a church.

"That your Petitioners have always had in view to build a decent, plain church for their public worship, but as in such an undertaking they expected they would be obliged to depend principally on their own resources, they have been, for several reasons and circumstances, compelled to defer it.

"Your Petitioners, judging the period of the restoration of peace favourable to their plan, have resolved to make the attempt, and they have hopes that, with a very little assistance, they may now attain the great object of their wishes—a decent place appropriated to public worship. Your Petitioners desire to be known to Your Majesty, and to be considered by Your Majesty's Government as members of and united to the National Church of Scotland. Your Petitioners therefore hope, from your known regard and zeal for all the Interests of true Religion, that they may receive some small mark of Your Majesty's attention and favour, to assist them in their purpose of providing a place for their public worship which may appear respectable to their sister Church of England, and to their fellow citizens, the Roman Catholics.

"Etc., etc."

Quebec received a share of the Scots who came to Canada as United Empire Loyalists, hence the settlements at Baie des Chaleurs, at Sorel in the Bay of Quinté, and at Douglas Town, in Gaspé Bay. The quantity of Scots scattered throughout the Province may be understood from a report published in the *Morning Chronicle*, of Quebec.

"At a meeting of the 'Frasers' of the Province of Quebec, held at Mrs. Brown's City Hotel, Garden Street, on February 8th, 1868, Alexander Fraser, Esq., notary, ex-Member for the County of Kamouraska, now resident in Quebec, in the chair; Mr. Omer Fraser acting as secretary. It was unanimously resolved :—

"1. That it is desirable that the family of 'Frasers' do organise themselves into a clan with a purely benevolent and social object, and with that view they do now proceed to such organisation, by recommending the choice of :—

A Chief for the Dominion of Canada.
A Chief for each Province.
A Chief for each Electoral Division.
A Chief for each County.
A Chief for each Locality and Township.

"2. That the Chief of the Dominion of Canada be named 'The Fraser,' and that he be chosen at the general meeting of the 'Frasers' of all the Provinces; the said meeting to be held on the second Tuesday in the month of May next, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, in such place in the City of Ottawa as will then be designated.

"3. To be the Chief of the Province of Quebec: The Honourable John Fraser de Berry, Esquire, one of the members of the Legislative Council of the said Province, etc., being the fifty-eighth descendant of Jules de Berry, a rich and powerful lord (seigneur), who feasted sumptuously the Emperor Charlemagne and his numerous suite at his castle in Normandy in the eighth century.

"4. For the following electoral divisions:—

Lauzon: Thomas Fraser, Esquire, Farmer, of Pointe Levis.

Kennebec: Simon Fraser, Esquire, of St. Croix.

De La Durantaye: Alexander Fraser, Esquire, Farmer, of St. Valier.

Les Laurentides: William Fraser, Esquire, of Lake St. John, Chicoutimi.

Grandville: Jean Etienne Fraser, Esquire, Notary.

Green Island, Stadacona: Alexander Fraser, Esquire, Notary, St. Roch, Quebec.

"The meeting, having voted thanks to the President and Secretary, then adjourned.

"ALEXANDER FRASER,
"*President.*

"OMER FRASER,
"*Secretary.*"

CHAPTER IX.

THE NORTH-WEST COMPANY.

GENERAL MURRAY, who by his tact and consideration did much to enlist the sympathies of the French Canadians for British rule, has left an interesting account of these people in 1761. They were "mostly of a Norman race and in general of a litigious disposition. The gentry or seigneurs, descendants of military or civil officers, were for the most part men of small means, unless they had held one or other of the distant posts where they could make their fortunes. These "have an utter contempt for the trading part of the colony, though they made no scruple to engage in it, pretty deeply too, whenever a convenient opportunity served." Of the clergy the higher ranks were filled by Frenchmen, the rest being Canadian born, and in general Canadians of the lower class. The wholesale traders were mostly French, and the retail traders natives of Canada. The peasantry were a strong, healthy race, plain in their dress, virtuous in their morals, and temperate in their living, very ignorant and tenacious of their religion. "The French bent their

whole attention in this part of the world to the fur trade."

The fur trade was indeed the magnet that for over one hundred years had drawn so many younger sons of old French families to Canada. The life it entailed was blent with romantic adventure, and the profits were enticing. The roving life of the fur trader and the *voyageur* was, however, a disturbing element in the work of settlement. The farmers' sons drifted off into the woods and became *coureurs des bois* rather than face the monotony of ploughing and of harvest. In the woods they mated with Indian squaws, good enough wives for a canoe life, but hardly the wives to help to build up a nation.

To protect the route of the fur traders forts were built, and from these forts the hardy pioneers went out to explore. Michilimackinac, at the point of the peninsula that separates Lake Michigan from Lake Huron, was the great rendezvous of the French fur traders, and it was from here that Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de la Verandrye, Canadian born and son of a soldier colonist, in 1731 set out for the West. He went by Grand Portage, on Lake Superior, to Rainy Lake, where he founded Fort St. Pierre. Next year on the Lake of the Woods he built Fort

St. Charles. In 1734 he erected a fort at Lake Winnipeg: Fort Maurepas, near the present Fort Alexander. On September 24th, 1738, he reached the site of the present Winnipeg, where Fort Rouge was founded, and at Portage la Prairie built Fort de la Reine.

Fort Dauphin, on Lake Manitoba, Fort Bourbon, at Cedar Lake, Fort Poskoyac, on the Saskatchewan, and Fort Lacorne, near the present Prince Albert, were built by his sons in 1741; and in 1751, close to the present city of Calgary, Fort La Jonquière was established by de Nireville as the French farthest West.

During the war with Great Britain, which culminated in the capture of Quebec, the fur trade naturally suffered; but British rule brought a new element that made for still greater activity, namely, the Scots merchants of Montreal. At this date the American tobacco trade was already in the hands of the so-called "Virginia merchants" of Glasgow, and as the British supremacy extended north into Canada, the enterprising Scot naturally coveted the still more profitable fur trade. The traders who followed in the wake of the British army seem to have lost no time, for we find one of them on the scene before hostilities were actually

concluded. Alexander Henry—a native of the Cameronian Colony of New Jersey — who has left a vivid account of his adventures, appeared at Michilimackinac in 1761, and joined forces with the old fur trader, Jean Baptiste Cadotte, of Sault Ste. Marie. Discarding his British clothes, and assuming those of a French Canadian *voyageur*, Henry met with more adventure than success. However, in 1765, he obtained from the commandant at Michilimackinac monopoly of the trade of Lake Superior, and, with M. Cadotte and the brothers Frobisher, formed an alliance which was the nucleus of the famous North-West Company. After successful trading, Alexander Henry visited Europe, and carried his tale to the Court of France, where he was presented to Marie Antoinette.

Thomas Curry was another Scot of Montreal, who followed in the footsteps of Verandrye as far as Fort Bourbon, returning with such profitable cargo that he retired from business. James Finlay, another Scot, followed in 1771, and reached Fort Lacorne. The Frobishers, partners of Alexander Henry, pushed still farther, establishing posts at Ile de la Crosse; while Pond, another partner,

penetrated as far as Athabasca, where he built Fort Athabasca. So much did the fur trade prosper through the enterprise of the merchants of Montreal, and so little was it affected by the War of Independence, that in 1783 there were five hundred men engaged at Grand Portage.

The success of those already mentioned had induced others to enter this profitable business, and to prevent undue competition most of the traders combined in 1784 to form the North-West Company, the leading spirit of which was Simon McTavish; but no sooner had this merger been formed than another group of Scots threw down the challenge: Gregory McLeod & Co., to whose firm belonged Alexander Mackenzie, who brought in his cousin, Roderick Mackenzie, James Finlay, son of the Finlay already mentioned, and William McGillivray, nephew of Simon McTavish himself. Within three years the two rival companies had merged, and by the end of the century the North-West Company had an annual turnover of £120,000, employing 50 clerks, 71 interpreters and clerks, 1,120 canoemen, and 35 guides.

Lest anyone should accuse the writer of romancing when he claims this com-

pany as Scottish, it may be as well to quote the Arrangements of the proprietors, clerks, interpreters, etc., of this company for 1799, as found in the papers of Roderick Mackenzie :—

Athabasca.

		G.P. Currency (12 to £1).
John Finlay, proprietor.		
Simon Fraser - - -	wages	1,200
James MacKenzie - -	,,	300
Duncan Livingston - -	,,	1,200
John Stewart - - -	,,	240
James Porter - - -	,,	480
John Thompson - -	,,	240
James MacDougall - -	,,	60
G. F. Wintzel (Norwegian)	,,	240
John Heinbrucks (German)	,,	500

Upper English River (Churchill River).

Angus Shaw, proprietor.		
Donal MacTavish, proprietor.		
Alexander Mackay - -	wages	1,200
Antoine Tourangeau - -	,,	1,000
Joseph Cartier - - -	,,	1,000
Simon Reaume - - -	,,	600

Lower English River.

Alexander Fraser, proprietor.		
John MacGillivray - -	wages	360
Robert Henry - - -	,,	360

The rest French.

Other proprietors are: A. N. McLeod (Fort Dauphin), Daniel MacKenzie and John MacDonald (Upper Fort des Prairies and Rocky Mountains), John Macdonald (Upper Red River), Charles Chaboillez (Lower Red River), William MacKay (Lac Winipic = Lake Winnipeg), while the principal employees are either Scots or French Canadians.

It was while representing the North-West Company in Athabasca that Alexander Mackenzie made his two historic voyages to the Arctic Sea and to the Pacific Ocean. On June 3rd, 1789, with some French-Canadian *voyageurs* and an Indian guide as companions, he set out on the first of these, skirting Slave Lake, and reaching the river which now bears his name. Within forty days of his first start he was floating on the Arctic Sea, and two months later he was back again in Athabasca.

During this expedition Alexander Mackenzie had opportunity to discover his limitations, more particularly his lack of astronomical knowledge. That, however, was no great obstacle to a Scot. He journeyed to London, pored for a winter over books on mathematics and the stars, bought up-to-date instruments, and returned for further explorations.

His second expedition left Fort Chipewean, on Lake Athabasca, in October, 1792, for the Peace River, where he had designed his starting place. On May 9th, 1793, together with Alexander Mackay, another Scot, with *voyageurs* and Indians, he once more set forth. Shooting the rapids of unknown rivers, deserted by his guide, facing death at the hands of Indians, he forced his unwilling band ever onwards towards the West. At last he crossed the watershed of the Rockies. Amid the maze of unexplored rivers it was difficult to choose the right one. But after nine long months he came upon an arm of the Pacific, and looked upon that great Western sea which had been the dream of every pioneer from the days of Champlain and La Salle. The record that he made of this great achievement was as modest as its author. "I now mixed up some vermilion in melted grease, and inscribed in large characters, on the south-east of the rock on which we had slept last night, this brief memorial :—

"ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, FROM CANADA, BY LAND, THE TWENTY-SECOND OF JULY, ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND NINETY-THREE."

SIR GEORGE SIMPSON ON HIS TOUR OF INSPECTION FROM HUDSON BAY TO THE PACIFIC COAST.

CHAPTER X.

The Trade Route across the Rockies.

The hostilities between the British and the rebellious American colonies could not fail eventually to affect the route of the fur traders. It must be remembered that the fur traders inherited the Empire of the French, and the French expansion into the West had been inspired by the policy of hemming the English colonies within the Alleghanies. Fort Duquesne, (now Pittsburg), Fort Chartres, and Fort St. Louis, on the Mississippi, were tangible expressions of that policy.

When France had ceded Canada, British garrisons, of which the 42nd Highlanders (or Black Watch) formed a fair proportion, were sent to replace the French. During the War of Independence the forts protecting the route of the fur traders remained under the British flag; and even though some of these were counted as in American territory under the terms of the Treaty of 1783, the British Government refused to evacuate them on account of the scandalous breach of faith of the American Government in failing to carry out the fifth and sixth

Articles of that Treaty referring to the Loyalists. It was not till 1796, nearly two years after the signing of John Jay's Treaty, that these lower forts were finally evacuated, and the Scots-Canadian fur traders, therefore, held their annual summer meeting still on what was strictly American soil, at Grand Portage, and did not adopt the Kaministiquia route till 1797, or build their new post of Fort William till 1800.

But the inevitable had to come, and in order to prepare for that day of fate, the partners of the North-West Company commissioned a young Scot, David Thompson, to discover which of their posts were south of the 49th parallel of latitude, the new boundary line, and if there were any such to arrange for the erection of new posts in British territory.

David Thompson had originally been a trader in the Hudson's Bay Company, and in that service had found his way in 1795 to Lake Athabasca. This company, however, let him know that it did not want explorers, so David Thompson said farewell to Hudson Bay, and offered his services as astronomer and surveyor to the Nor'-Westers at Grand Portage. He was just the man they

wanted, and on August 7th, 1796, with four canoes under trader McGillis, he set out on his new mission. His outfit included a good sextant and an achromatic telescope, and the accuracy of his measurements was amply proved by later explorations.

Verandrye's Fort St. Pierre at Rainy Lake was proved American in latitude 48° 1′ 22″ N. Assiniboine House (now Brandon) was 49° 41′. Pembina House was just on the wrong side at 48° 58′ 24″, but he marked the boundary and told Charles Chabouillez, the trader at that post, where to rebuild when the time came. On the Upper Red River was a North-West trading post near the present Grand Forks, Dakota, managed at this time by Jean Baptiste Cadot, a son of Alexander Henry's partner at Sault Ste. Marie. Other posts in American territory were found at Red Cedar House, Sand Lake, and Fond du Lac, near Duluth.

A rupture between Simon McTavish and Alexander Mackenzie seems to have put a stop to further work in this direction for the moment, and the gradually increasing conflict with the Hudson's Bay Company diverted all the efforts of the Montreal merchants towards the North;

but on the death of Simon McTavish the exploration of the West was once more resumed, and in 1805 David Thompson was sent off again, this time up the Saskatchewan, with the object of tracing the Columbia River and exploring the vast ranges of the Rockies. At the same time Simon Fraser, son of a Roman Catholic Highlander settled in the Mohawk Valley who had taken the Loyalist side and was Captain in the King's Royal Regiment, was sent to explore the Rockies from the Peace River.

Thompson crossed the Rockies in 1806, and in the following year built a North-West trading post, the remains of which may still be seen on the shores of Lake Windermere in the Columbia Valley. This he called Kootenay House and made his headquarters. During the next few years he discovered several passes, and established trading posts for his company on the Columbia, claiming the territory north of the 49th parallel as British. He had hoped to plant the British flag at the mouth of that river, but in this he was anticipated. John Jacob Astor had sent an expedition to that same spot round the Horn, and when Thompson reached the Pacific he found there planted Fort Astoria.

In the meanwhile Simon Fraser had been exploring the Rockies from the Peace River, and had named this district New Caledonia, erecting the fort of New Caledonia on a river which he discovered and named the Stuart River. In 1807 came an order from the North-West Company to explore the River Tacouche Tesse, on which Alexander Mackenzie had nearly lost his way, and which was supposed to be an upper reach of the Columbia. Four canoes therefore started out, carrying Fraser and his companions, John Stuart, Jules Quesnel, nineteen *voyageurs,* and two Indians. The descent was one long succession of miraculous escapes. On the ninth day they came to what was called the *rapide couvert.*

"Here the channel contracts to about forty yards, and is enclosed by two precipices of immense height which, bending towards each other, make it narrower above and below. The water which rolls down this extraordinary passage in tumultuous waves and with great velocity had a frightful appearance. However, it being absolutely impossible to carry the canoes by land, all hands without hesitation embarked, as it were, *à corps perdu* upon the mercy of this awful tide. Once

engaged, the die was cast. Our great difficulty consisted in keeping the canoes within the medium, or *fil d'eau:* that is, clear of the precipice on the one side and from the gulfs formed by the waves on the other. Thus, skimming along as fast as lightning, the crews, cool and determined, followed each other in awful silence, and when we arrived at the end we stood gazing at each other in silent congratulation at our narrow escape from total destruction."

The descent of the Fraser River took forty-two days, and though Simon Fraser was disappointed that the river after all turned out not to be the Columbia, it was of vast importance to the future of the British race on the American continent that his perilous journey was so successfully accomplished.

The outbreak of war between Great Britain and the United States in 1812 aroused the Nor'-Westers to arms. As already mentioned, the *Corps des Voyageurs Canadiens* was raised, with many of the bourgeois as its officers to protect the frontier in the east. There they defended Fort Michilimackinac, captured Prairie du Chien on the Mississippi, and made prizes of the *Scorpion* and the *Tigress.* On the Pacific Coast the

Nor'-Westers sent a brigade of canoes to seize Astoria, thus by a few days forestalling a British man-o'-war, which arrived to find the right flag flying, and to hear that Astoria was now Fort George.

CHAPTER XI.

The Hudson's Bay Company.

Through the bold enterprise of Simon Fraser and David Thompson, the Nor'-Westers had thus laid out a trade route from Atlantic to Pacific. This route was all in British territory, and was defended by them against American aggression. One can, then, imagine their dismay at an attempt, not by a foreign foe but under the British flag, to throw a barricade across their hard-won route, and to hold them back at the Great Lakes. This barricade was schemed by a Lowland Scot, Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, whose colonising efforts in Prince Edward Island have already been narrated, and who now made use of the Hudson's Bay charter for a plan in which philanthropy and business were so involved that confusion inevitably followed.

To understand the situation of Lord Selkirk's settlers in 1815 we must go back to the middle of the seventeenth century, to Médard Chouart, Sieur des Groseillers, who in 1647 married Hélène, daughter of Abraham Martin, the Scots

pilot of the St. Lawrence, and to Pierre Esprit Radisson, his comrade in adventure. Fired by Indian tales, Groseillers and Radisson made two fur-trading expeditions west and north of Lake Superior, and claimed to have reached by land the shores of that bay which in 1610 was sounded by the ship of Henry Hudson. On their return to Montreal they were fined by the French Governor for illicit trading, and in anger they deserted Canada and sought assistance in New England for an expedition to the territory that they knew was rich. Here they met Sir George Carteret, the scion of a Norman family of Guernsey, who encouraged them to moot their schemes at the Court of Charles the Second. On October 25th, 1666, they obtained an audience of the King, and the promise of a ship. The interest of Prince Rupert was enlisted, the Duke of York, afterwards James the Second, became a stockholder in their venture, and a number of noblemen, such as William Earl of Craven, Henry Earl of Arlington, and Anthony Earl of Shaftesbury, all Normans, were generous supporters.

After a preliminary expedition which resulted in the building of Charles Fort at Rupert's River, King Charles granted,

on May 2nd, 1670, a charter for exclusive trade to the "Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson Bay."

It is interesting to note that one of the most active members of this Company was Sir John Kirke, son of the Franco-Scot, Sir David Kirke, who beat the French off Nova Scotia, and to find that Radisson married Sir John Kirke's daughter. Within fifteen years there were forts established at Albany River, Hayes Island, Rupert's River, Port Nelson, and Moose River.

The French were much perturbed at this new English venture, and tried to thwart it both by land and sea. Colbert, the great French Minister, played upon the poverty of Groseillers and Radisson, paid their debts, and helped them, so that in 1681 we find them at the head of a new French venture, the "Compagnie du Nord," and establishing Fort Bourbon near Fort Nelson on the Hayes River. Here they did considerable trade, only to desert again to the English side, and hand their furs to their old friends in the Hudson's Bay Company.

In the meanwhile the French in Canada had built a line of stations to divert the fur trade down from Hudson

Bay to the Great Lakes. In 1678 the Sieur Duluth built a fort half a mile from the mouth of the river at Kaministiquia (Fort William), where "he made a large magazine of goods, and which did considerable disservice to the English settlements in Hudson Bay."

On the second desertion of Radisson and Groseillers to the English, d'Iberville was sent in 1685 up through the Laurentians to attack the English forts. He took three months to reach the bay, but once there he quickly captured Moose River Fort, Charles Fort on Rupert's River, Albany Fort, and a vessel of the English company. When Alexander Henry came to Michilimackinac in 1760 he found there two brass cannons, said to have been captured on a marauding expedition which probably was this. According to the company's own books the French possessed all James Bay from 1686 to 1693, capturing trade worth £10,000 a year. French and English were alternate victors in this territory, but it was not till shortly before the Peace of Utrecht in 1713 that the English company was in undisputed possession.

It is at this point that the inevitable Scot appears upon the scene. In the

Hudson's Bay Company's Order Book for the month of February, 1710, we find this minute:—

"Captain John Merry is desired to speak with Captain Moody, who has a nephew in the Orkneys, to write to him to provide fifteen or sixteen young men, about twenty years old, to be entertained by the company, to serve them for four years in Hudson Bay, at the rate of £6 per annum, the wages formerly given by the company."

In the following year higher wages had to be offered—namely, £8 for the first year, £10 for the second, £12 for the third, and £14 for the last two on a five years' contract. From that time to this the chief proportion of the Hudson's Bay officials have been drawn from the Orkneys and the Highlands.

The opposition of the French fur traders and the Hudson's Bay Company was carried on by the Nor'-Westers. These referred contemptuously to the Hudson's Bay men as "the English"—a contempt which the Scots merchants were by heredity inclined to share. As their management was on the spot, and not three thousand miles away in London, the Nor'-Westers were so much

prompter in decision, so much more enterprising, and so much more successful. They had forts at Athabasca Lake and Great Slave Lake before the Hudson's Bay men had awakened. Not till 1769 was Samuel Hearne sent from Prince of Wales's Fort on Hudson Bay into the interior. After two fruitless expeditions Hearne reached the Arctic Ocean, at the mouth of the Coppermine River, in 1771, and thus settled the problem of the North-West Passage. In 1774 Hearne erected the first of the inland Hudson's Bay forts at Cumberland House, five hundred yards from the North-West post on Sturgeon Lake, leaving it garrisoned with Orkney men. In 1790 the Hudson's Bay Company commenced a more aggressive policy, building rival trading posts against the Nor'-Westers on the Assiniboine, on Rainy Lake, at Ile de la Crosse, at Brandon, at Edmonton, on Lake Winnipeg, at Portage la Prairie (Carlton House), and in 1799 on the Red River, close to the site of the present Winnipeg.

Hence the great conflict.

CHAPTER XII.

Lord Selkirk's Kildonan Settlers.

These were the tragic days of the Highland clearances, when chiefs were willing to betray their clans, claiming the sole right to estates which belonged just as truly to the clansmen they evicted. The chief, as Sismondi says, was a chief, not a proprietor, and "had no more right to expel from their homes the inhabitants of his county than a king the inhabitants of his kingdom." But moral right counted little in the nostrils of lairds who had smelt English gold. The most notorious eviction was that due to the Duchess of Sutherland, the record of whose work is found in the "Gloomy Memories" of Donald Macleod. A more restrained account is that of Hugh Miller, from whom this extract:—

"In the month of March, 1814, a large proportion of the Highlanders of Farr and Kildonan, two parishes in Sutherland, were summoned to quit their farms in the following May. In a few days after, the surrounding heaths on which they pastured their cattle, and from which at that season

the sole supply of herbage is derived (for in those northern districts the grass springs late, and the cattle-feeder in the spring months depends chiefly on the heather), were set on fire and burnt up. There was that sort of policy in the stroke which men deem allowable in a state of war. The starving cattle went roaming over the burnt pastures, and found nothing to eat. Many of them perished, and the greater part of what remained, though in miserable condition, the Highlanders had to sell perforce. Most of the able-bodied men were engaged in this latter business at a distance from home when the dreaded term-day came on. The pasturage had been destroyed before the legal term, and while even in the eye of the law it was still the property of the poor Highlanders; but ere disturbing them in their dwellings, term-day was suffered to pass. The work of demolition then began. A numerous party of men, with a factor at their head, entered the district, and commenced pulling down the houses over the heads of the inhabitants. In an extensive tract of country not a human dwelling was left standing, and then, the more effectually to prevent their temporary erection, the destroyers set fire to the wreck. In one day were the people deprived of home

FACTOR JOHN MCLEAN ROUNDING UP A HERD OF CARIBOU IN LABRADOR FOR THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY.

and shelter, and left exposed to the elements."

This was only carrying on the black work which had been going on for half a century. No wonder that Lord Selkirk found a country ripe for emigration. He tried to persuade the British Government to direct this emigration to the Western prairies, and failing in this he bought in 1810 a controlling interest in the Hudson's Bay Company, intending to use that organisation to establish a settlement on the banks of the Red River.

According to the letter of the English law, the Hudson's Bay Company owned the land watered by the rivers flowing into Hudson Bay, and in virtue of that technical possession Lord Selkirk purchased a strip of land two hundred thousand square miles in extent, or four times the size of Scotland, stretching down through Manitoba into Minnesota. To this strip of land he commenced in 1811 to send out shiploads of settlers, mostly evicted Highlanders.

The location of this land, and the later actions of his lieutenants, makes one hesitate to credit him with purely philanthropic motives. One cannot blame the Nor'-Westers for supposing that, as the

chief stockholder in the Hudson's Bay Company, he designed a settlement which should throw a bar across their path to the north-west. And knowing that in actual fact Lord Selkirk's company was late in the field, while theirs had been the effective occupation, who blames them for their indignation?

Lord Selkirk had never been to Hudson Bay, and never further west than Montreal. He sent his settlers out with insufficient instruments for agriculture and without a notion of the difficulties they must face. The route from York Factory to Norway House on Lake Winnipeg was still comparatively new even to the Hudson's Bay factors, and even so they gave the settlers only lukewarm welcome and assistance. After wintering in quarters that were grudged them outside the Fort at York Factory on the shores of the inhospitable bay, the first batch of the Selkirk settlers travelled the difficult road of fifty-five days to their destined home, landing under the guns of the Nor'-Westers' Fort Gibraltar.

To conduct his colonists and govern his settlement, Lord Selkirk had chosen Miles Macdonell, a United Empire Loyalist from Glengarry in Upper Canada, whom he had met in Scotland.

Miles lost no time in asserting the authority of the Hudson's Bay Company over this territory, and added fuel to the wrath of the Nor'-Westers by forcibly impounding pemmican stored for the use of Nor'-West traders at their Souris River post, and transferring it to the Hudson's Bay post at Brandon House.

Strangely enough, the man selected by the Nor'-Westers to thwart this enterprise was also a United Empire Loyalist from Glengarry — Duncan Cameron by name — who had joined the fur-trading company in 1786, and had worked the Nipigon district in rivalry with a Hudson's Bay post at Osnaburgh, on Lake St. Joseph. Duncan Cameron talked in Gaelic to the settlers, offering to transport them free of charge to Upper Canada, promising free lands of two hundred acres to each family near market towns and provisions for a year free of cost. He made Miles Macdonell his prisoner and transported him to Montreal. On June 15th, 1815, 140 out of the two hundred colonists agreed to his proposals, and were settled three months later near the present towns of London and St. Thomas, in Ontario. The remaining settlers were now served with a notice by Cuthbert Grant, the leader of the

half-breeds who favoured the Nor'-Westers.

"All settlers to retire immediately from Red River, and no trace of a settlement to remain."

In two days the last of Lord Selkirk's settlers had departed for Norway House.

But in the small Hudson's Bay trading post was John Macleod, a bold-hearted Highlander, who resolved to defy the Nor'-Westers still. In a neighbouring blacksmith's forge he cut up lengths of chain into shot for his three-pounder, and when the half-breeds came to clear him out he used his weapon to such purpose that they retired precipitously. Macleod, with the aid of three men who had stayed with him and a few friendly freemen in the neighbourhood, rebuilt the colonists' huts, and erected a fort which he called Fort Douglas. The settlers were recalled from Norway House, and a further batch from Kildonan, in Sutherland, arrived under Governor Semple. They seized the Nor'-Westers' post of Fort Gibraltar, which they pulled down, using the materials to strengthen Fort Douglas, and when Duncan Cameron came back he was in turn made prisoner. Pembina House, to the South, was seized by

Sheriff Macdonell, who was in charge of the Hudson's Bay post at Fort Daer, and its stores were confiscated for the use of the Red River colony.

No wonder that very soon further shots were fired. Cuthbert Grant, at the head of his half-breeds, came into conflict with Governor Semple at Seven Oaks. The Governor, five of his officers, and twenty-two of his men were killed. Fort Douglas was occupied, and the settlers once more driven out to Norway House.

By this time the philanthropic nobleman who had sent out so many shiploads to his settlement had at last found time to cross the Atlantic and was now at Montreal. Spending the winter there, he with difficulty secured for himself an appointment as Justice of the Peace. Also he engaged over a hundred disbanded men of two Swiss mercenary regiments, the "De Meurons," to be his soldier colonists and protect his Red River settlement. On his way west through the lakes he met Miles Macdonell, who told him of Governor Semple's death. Seizing Fort William, the summer meeting place of the Nor'-Westers, he used his commission of Justice of the Peace to imprison the Nor'-Westers' partners he found there—

William McGillivray, John McDonald, Kenneth McKenzie, and Simon Fraser, and sent them under guard to York (Toronto). Then he despatched his "De Meurons" to Fort Douglas, which of course could not hold out against such force. It was not, however, till June 1st, 1817, that Lord Selkirk reached his colony, once more collected at the Red River from their refuge at Norway House.

A commission was appointed by the Governor-General of Canada to investigate the whole matter. Numerous cases were tried at York, and eventually Lord Selkirk had to pay a fine of £500 for damage to the North-West Company's trade, and £1,500 for falsely imprisoning McKenzie. Cuthbert Grant and the Nor'-West partners were acquitted on a charge of principals and accessories in the murder of Governor Semple. In 1820 Lord Selkirk died, a broken man.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE WINNING OF THE WEST.

THE death of Lord Selkirk opened the gate of reconciliation, and on March 26th, 1821, the two opposing forces joined hands under the name of the Hudson's Bay Company. Nicholas Garry, Vice-Governor of the old Hudson's Bay Company, and Simon McGillivray, of the Nor'-Westers, came to settle all difficulties at the Red River, and a new fort, called Fort Garry, was erected near the site of Fort Gibraltar. Norway House on Lake Winnipeg became the centre for the annual meeting of the fur traders instead of Fort William, and a young Scot, George Simpson, was appointed Governor. In 1828 Governor Simpson made a tour of the various posts from Hudson Bay to the Pacific, the record of which has been left in the entertaining diary of Archibald McDonald, his companion.

Leaving York Factory under a salute of seven guns, two light canoes containing nine men each set out for Norway House, the first great station. "As we waft along under easy sail, the men with a

clean change and mounting new feathers, the Highland bagpipes in the Governor's canoe was echoed by the bugle in mine; then these were laid aside, on nearer approach to port, to give free scope to the vocal organs of about eighteen Canadians (French) to chant one of those *voyageur* airs peculiar to them, and always so perfectly rendered. Our entry to Jack River House (Norway House) about 7 p.m. was certainly more imposing than anything hitherto seen in this part of the Indian country. Immediately on landing, his Excellency was preceded by the piper from the water to the Fort, while we were received with all welcome by Messrs. Chief Trader McLeod and Dease, Mr. Robert Clouston, and a whole host of ladies."

The account of the whole voyage is full of detail illustrating the life of the time, as for instance the report of a case brought before the Governor as Judge, of an assault by one man on another, under suspicion of tampering with his wife. "The verdict—for his Excellency seems also to have been chosen as jury—was Scotice: 'not proven'; but with a powerful recommendation to the accused not to try that sort of thing again; and, by

way of 'earnest,' a small penalty was imposed—to wit ten shillings—payable as *solatium*, under the benign doctrine of the Scotch Law—*i.e.*, Law of New Caledonia in such case made and provided—which money was at once tendered, but was indignantly rejected; whereupon it was made over to another to buy liquor at the depot. The beauty of the Judgement in its pre-eminence from the top of the Rocky Mountains, whence delivered, was that it pleased not either party, and not a little frightened both out of their impropriety and evil doings in their respective ways, and on all had a most wholesome effect."

Crossing the Rocky Mountains by the Peace River Pass, the Governor's party approached Fort St. James, the principal depot for the country north of the forks of the Fraser River. The account of their entry into the Fort is highly interesting:—

"The day as yet being fine, the flag was put up, the piper in full Highland costume, and every arrangement was made to arrive at Fort James in the most imposing manner we could for the sake of the Indians. Accordingly, when within about a thousand yards of the establishment, descending a gentle hill, a gun was

fired, the bugle sounded, and soon after the piper commenced the celebrated march of the clans—'Si coma leum cogadh na shea'—('Peace: or war, if you will it otherwise'). The guide, with the British ensign, led the van, followed by the band; then the Governor on horseback, supported behind by Doctor Hamlyn and myself on our chargers, two deep; twenty men with their burdens next formed the line, then one loaded horse, and lastly Mr. McGillivray (with his wife and light infantry) closed the rear. During a brisk discharge of small arms and wall pieces from the Fort, Mr. Douglas met us a short distance in advance, and in this order we made our *entrée* into the capital of Western Caledonia."

Mr. Douglas, the trader at Fort St. James, who shortly after was transferred to Fort Vancouver, became a great power in this country west of the Rockies. John McLeod, the hero of the fight with the half-breeds at the Red River, was the first officer of the old Hudson's Bay Company to be sent across the Rockies to New Caledonia, and did good service there, but the chief fame falls to Douglas.

James Douglas, born of Scots parents,

entered the service of the North-West Company at an early age, and, on the fusion of the companies, was taken by Chief Factor McLoughlin to New Caledonia, where at Fort St. James he gripped with an iron hand the lawlessness of the Indians. Transferred to Fort Vancouver at the mouth of the Columbia River, he established in 1827 a trading post at Fort Langley on the Lower Fraser. In 1830, in view of impending boundary troubles, it was decided to vacate Fort Vancouver for a new fort on Vancouver Island, and the fort soon after known as Victoria was founded. Forced to withdraw from the Oregon in 1846, the Hudson's Bay Company determined to open up communication with the east by way of the Fraser River, and laid out a road from Fort Langley up to Kamloops. Vancouver Island was granted them on condition that they encouraged settlement, and two years later Douglas was appointed Governor. But it was not till the gold rush of 1856 that British Columbia received any considerable increase of population. In 1858 no less than twenty thousand people landed at Victoria on their way to the diggings. A Government was organised on the British Columbia mainland, and

Governor Douglas was selected as the best man to deal with the situation. Roads and bridges were essential to bring food to the miners and to maintain order, and by 1863 Governor Douglas had built them, with the result that settlement was encouraged and mining became a permanent industry.

In the meanwhile the Red River Settlement, after various further vicissitudes, at last came into the sunshine of prosperity. The company was somewhat oligarchical, but population, an unfailing test, increased. An interesting description of Fort Garry in 1845 has been left by R. M. Ballantyne, the well-known writer of boys' books, who was himself a Hudson's Bay clerk :—

"In the very centre of the great continent of North America, far removed from the abodes of civilised men, and about twenty miles to the south of Lake Winnipeg, exists a colony composed of Indians, Scotsmen, and French Canadians, which is known by the name of Red River Settlement. Red River differs from most colonies in more respects than one—the chief differences being that whereas other colonies cluster on the sea-coast this one lies many hundreds of miles in the interior of the country, and

is surrounded by a wilderness ; and while other colonies, acting on the golden rule, export their produce in return for goods imported, this of Red River imports a large quantity and exports nothing, or next to nothing. Not but that it *might* export if it only had an outlet or a market. But being eight hundred miles removed from the sea, and five hundred miles from the nearest market, with a series of rivers, lakes, rapids, and cataracts separating from the one, and a wide sweep of treeless prairie dividing from the other, the settlers have long since come to the conclusion that they were born to consume their own produce, and so regulate the extent of their farming operations by the strength of their appetites. Of course, there are many of the necessaries, or at least the luxuries, of life which the colonists cannot grow, such as tea, coffee, sugar, coats, trousers and shirts, and which, consequently, they procure from England by means of the Hudson's Bay Fur Company's ships, which sail once a year from Gravesend laden with supplies for the trade carried on with the Indians. And the bales containing these articles are conveyed in boats up the rivers, carried past the waterfalls and rapids overland on the shoulders of stalwart

voyageurs, and finally landed at Red River, after a rough trip of many weeks' duration. At the time of which we write the colony contained about five thousand souls, and extended upwards of fifty miles along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, which streams supplied the settlers with a variety of excellent fish. The banks were clothed with fine trees, and immediately behind the settlement lay the great prairies, which extend in undulating waves almost entirely devoid of shrub or tree to the base of the Rocky Mountains."

Deeply interesting to the present writer was a visit paid last summer to Kildonan Fair. It was a day of glorious sunshine, and the great-granddaughters of the old Red River settlers wore their best new hats (Paris, some of them) above their bonny faces. They came in the electric tramcar, or in buggies, or even in automobiles, for time has meant money to the once evicted Highlanders, now the fortunate possessors of rich Canadian soil.

After an hour or two with Johnny at the fair, I took the ferry over the river to Kildonan Kirk, a quaint old house, with simple spire and quiet tale of graves.

One of the inscriptions summed up the story of a hundred years :—

In Memoriam
Hugh Polson
Born in Kildonan
Sutherlandshire, Scot.
Emigrated to this country in 1815
Died Feb. 27, 1887
Aged 81 years.

" He looked for a city which`hath foundations, whos Builder and Maker is God."—Heb. xi., 10.

SETTLERS FROM KILDONAN ARRIVING AT THE RED RIVER, MANITOBA.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Outlet of Emigration.

The close of the Napoleonic and American Wars left Great Britain in 1815 with a vast army of disbanded soldiers and a disorganised industrial system. In the endeavour to find an outlet for this uneconomic population the British Government subsidised an emigration movement into Canada, offering free passages and a hundred acres to each adult. This tide was increased by the aforenamed Highland clearances, and also by a westward movement in the American States themselves, which now had overflowed the Alleghanies and urged their unsettled surplus families along the roads into the interior. Some of those roads led by Niagara into Upper Canada, but Upper Canada was dour.

The settlers in that district, as we have seen, were closely inter-related, and the so-called "Family Compact" was the natural result. These Scots in their new hard-won homes were not yet ready to absorb the thousands of unhandy immigrants that British Ministers and callous lairds were so willing to dump down on them.

Much less did they welcome immigrants from States with which they had so lately been at war. Against the States they therefore closed the door, while settlers from the Motherland had, for a time at least, a somewhat grudging welcome, and were warned off from interfering with the privileges of the ruling caste. The tide, however, would not be denied. Fired by the inspiration, first of Robert Gourlay, and then of William Lyon Mackenzie, the party of the people broke the Family Compact, and though both Gourlay and Mackenzie came to grief, they were the pioneers of a free and enlightened Canada. The struggles of Mackenzie are too intricate to detail in a *résumé* so brief as this. Suffice to say that as first Mayor of Toronto, in 1834, he was the popular hero. Unfortunately he became involved in Papineau's Rebellion of 1837. That most vain attempt was crushed by loyal militiamen recruited from Glengarry, and Mackenzie was for many years condemned to the impotence of exile.

Meanwhile the Highland clearances went on, and shipload after shipload of destitute families thrown out from their sheilings poured into Canada. In those days there was no centre such as

the Government Immigration Bureau at Winnipeg to-day, which distributes new comers to the districts where they most are needed. Lairds like Colonel Gordon drove their evicted tenants on to an emigrant ship, and thought their consciences solved when they had disembarked their victims on a shore three thousand miles away. Canadians had another tale to tell. In an issue of the *Quebec Times* of 1851, we find a pitiful description of such a shipload :—

"And if, as men, the sufferings of these our fellow-creatures find sympathy in our hearts, as Canadians their wrongs concern us more dearly. The fifteen hundred souls whom Colonel Gordon has sent to Quebec this season, have all been supported for the past week at least, and conveyed to Upper Canada at the expense of the colony; and on their arrival at Toronto and Hamilton, the greater number have been dependent on the charity of the benevolent for a morsel of bread. Four hundred are in the river at present, and will arrive in a day or two, making a total of nearly two thousand of Colonel Gordon's tenants and cottars whom the province will have to support."

The *Dundas Warden*, of October 2nd, 1851, completes the story :—

"We have been pained beyond measure for some time past, to witness in our streets so many unfortunate Highland emigrants, apparently destitute of any means of subsistence, and many of them sick from want and other attendant causes. . . . There will be many to sound the fulsome noise of flattery in the ear of the generous landlord, who had spent so much to assist the emigration of his poor tenants. They will give him the misnomer of a *benefactor*, and for what? Because he has rid his estates of the encumbrance of a pauper population.

"Emigrants of the poorer class, who arrive here from the Western Highlands of Scotland, are so often situated that their emigration is more cruel than banishment. Their last shilling is spent probably before they reach the upper province—they are reduced to the necessity of begging. But again, the case of those emigrants of which we speak is rendered more deplorable from their ignorance of the English tongue. Of the hundreds of Highlanders in and around Dundas at present, perhaps not half a dozen understand anything but Gaelic."

To the honour of the Scots in Canada it must be recorded that they did their best to assist their unfortunate fellow-

countrymen who were thrust in such destitution into their midst. Alexander Mackenzie, historian of the clearances, records the action of the Saint Andrew's Society, of Montreal, in 1841, when 229 destitute emigrants from the Island of Lewis threatened to exhaust the charitable resources of the little town of Sherbrooke. A special meeting was summoned, subscriptions were collected amounting to such a sum that the emigrants were tided over the winter. "The provisions," says Mackenzie, "sent by the society had to be forwarded to where these starving emigrants were—a distance of eighty miles from Sherbrooke—on sledges, through a trackless and dense forest. The descendants of these people now form a happy and prosperous community at Lingwick and Winslow."

Marvellous tribute it is to the fertile soil of Canada that these chaotic crowds of destitute emigrants were so easily absorbed, and that these very paupers were the fathers and forefathers of the well-contented citizens of the Empire's greatest and most prosperous Dominion.

CHAPTER XV.

Canada a Dominion.

The steady influx of settlers into Canada resulted in a westward pressure of population which could not long be confined to the back countries of Ontario or east of the Great Lakes. It was inevitably bound to affect the Red River community described by R. M. Ballantyne in the passage already quoted. South of the Great Lakes, under the Stars and Stripes, another westward movement had set in since 1815 which crowded the highways with "movers," and filled what is now the Middle West with a new white population. Migration to these Western States received an additional impetus from the immense exodus out of Great Britain—an exodus which reached those States by way of Canada as well as Boston and New York. It has been calculated that of the 350,000 souls who left the Old Country between 1840 and 1850 for the St. Lawrence, one half were destined for the American West. St. Paul in Minnesota became an important centre for the Red River trade, diverting a

considerable traffic to its hungry market from the old route *via* Hudson Bay and down along a new International route *via* Pembina.

Rupert's Land, the Hudson's Bay territory stretching north of the International Boundary from the Great Lakes to the Pacific Coast, could not long remain under the control of a mere trading company, especially as the rule of the company was inefficient, the fate of all monopolies. The half-breeds, of French and Scots and Indian blend, grew discontented with the edicts issued from Fort Garry, and the Red River settlement gained unenviable notoriety for disorder. Canadian politicians, under the lead of Scots such as the Hon. William M'Dougall and John A. Macdonald, clamoured for the right of expansion to the Pacific. A solution was found in the creation of the great Dominion of Canada to include Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories, and the Hudson's Bay monopoly was bought out for £300,000.

The demand for union had come most urgently from the Scots settlers who now were stretched in almost unbroken line from Nova Scotia to Vancouver Island. With the demand for union came an agitation for a railway

which should link East with West, and here again the chief supporters of the railway were the Scots. In 1863 the Red River settlers sent a memorial to the British Government, requesting railway communication with Canada through British territory, and a few years later British Columbia entered into the Dominion on the express condition that it should be linked with the Atlantic by a transcontinental line of steel.

Sandford Fleming, the Scot who conducted the surveys for the Canadian Government, and constructed the first seven hundred miles of the Canadian Pacific Railway, made in 1872 a journey on British soil from ocean to ocean, of which his secretary, the Rev. George M. Grant, was the historian. In that record we have remarkable evidence of the prevalence of Scots along their route—Bowie, Aitken, Christie, Hamilton, M'Tavish, M'Dougall, Grant, Mackenzie, Campbell, Tait, are but a few of the names recurring.

The Confederation into one Dominion of Canada, the creation of the National Policy of a Tariff Wall against the United States, and the initiation of the Canadian Pacific Railway, were due to the greatest

of Canadian Scots, Sir John A. Macdonald, supported by his erstwhile political opponent, the Hon. George Brown, a native of Edinburgh. When political confusion and mismanagement made it advisable to hand over the completion of the transcontinental railway to a syndicate of business men, five of the seven who composed that syndicate were Scots—George Stephen, now Lord Mount-stephen, Donald A. Smith, now Lord Strathcona, Duncan M'Intyre, R. B. Angus, and Sir John Rose, a native of Aberdeenshire.

At the time when the Canadian Pacific Railway was a Government undertaking, it was the intention to locate the line north west from Winnipeg to Edmonton and through the Yellow Head Pass to the Pacific. As soon as this syndicate of business men assumed control, the route across the prairies was diverted further south to the Columbia River, where the explorations of David Thompson for the North-West Company pointed to a more direct route across the Rockies. It is indeed almost more than a coincidence that the route of the Canadian Pacific follows the route of the old French fur-trading pioneers, and of their successors, the Scots merchants of Montreal, from

the St. Lawrence River to the Columbia, while its outlet on the Pacific was the discovery of another of the Nor'-Westers, Simon Fraser. One is apt to think of this romantic undertaking as a new thing, thought of only forty years ago and driven through an unknown wilderness. In actual fact, the Canadian Pacific Railway followed a path hewn for it by sturdy and adventurous Northmen a hundred years before.

The two roads of steel under construction from the Atlantic and the Pacific met at the now historic spot of Craigellachie. The honour of driving the last spike fell to Donald A. Smith, a Morayshire lad who at the age of eighteen had been nominated to a stool in the Hudson's Bay Company, had risen to the chief post in that great enterprise, had by his wonderful tact rendered abortive the first Louis Riel rebellion, had been the leader of the West in the new Parliament of the Dominion, and had come to be recognised as one of the giants of commercial Canada. Donald Smith was a nephew of John Stewart, a Nor'-Wester who had accompanied Simon Fraser in his perilous descent of the Fraser River, and it was singularly fitting that he should have been selected to put the finishing

touch to this new rendering of the Nor'-Wester's route. Sandford Fleming has left a vivid record of that great moment :—

"Early on the morning of November 7th, 1885, the hundreds of busy workmen gradually brought the two tracks nearer and nearer, and at nine o'clock the last rail was laid in its place to complete the railway connection from ocean to ocean. All that remained to finish the work was to drive home the last spike. This duty devolved on one of the four directors present, the senior in years and influence, he who is known the world over as Lord Strathcona. No one could on such an occasion more worthily represent the company by taking hold of the spike hammer and giving the finishing blows.

"It was, indeed, no ordinary occasion. The scene was in every respect note-worthy from the groups which composed it and the circumstances which had brought together so many human beings in this spot in the heart of the mountains, until recently an untracked solitude. The engineers, the workmen, everyone present, appeared deeply impressed by what was taking place. It was felt by all to be the moment of triumph. The central figure —the only one in action at the moment —was more than the representative of the

railway company. His presence recalled memories of the Mackenzies, Frasers, Finlaysons, Thompsons, MacTavish, M'Leods, MacGillivrays, Stuarts, and M'Loughlins, who in a past generation had penetrated the surrounding mountains. To-day he is the chief representative of a vast trading organisation in the third century of its existence.

"The spike driven home, the silence for a moment or two remained unbroken. It seemed as if the act now performed had worked a spell on all present. Each was absorbed in his own thoughts. The silence was, however, of short duration. The pent-up feelings found vent in a spontaneous cheer, the echoes of which will long be remembered in association with Craigellachie.

"In a few moments the train was again in motion. It passed over the new-laid rail amid further cheering, and sped on its way, arriving the following morning at Port Moody, where a connection was made with the Pacific on November 8th, 1885."

CHAPTER XVI.

Tamers of the Wilderness.

Very soon after the transfer of control from the Hudson's Bay Company to the Canadian Government, a number of circumstances occasioned unrest in the Western prairies. The settlers who were ever pressing westward on the southern side of the international boundary carried on a war of extermination against the Indians, and forced them for refuge under the British flag. With the Indian came the buffalo, the Indian's chief source of food, which therefore met with no mercy at the hands of the American pioneers. Even on the Canadian prairie the buffalo had to yield place to the Canadian settler and to the railroad builders pressing west. Great was the dismay of the half-breed fur traders as they contemplated this two-fold invasion of their hunting grounds.

To introduce some order into threatened chaos, Sir John Macdonald created the Royal North-West Mounted Police, a body of magnificent men, whose record rests imperishable in the annals of the British Empire. Foremost among those who held the West in hand was Colonel

Macleod. At the head of a bare hundred men, Macleod policed a territory almost as wide as Europe. The Crees, the Blackfeet, the Assiniboines, the Bloods, and the Piegans learned to understand that Fort Macleod was their Gibraltar, and the American whisky traders endeavouring to corrupt the Indians whom they had not killed, learned to fear the colonel as their deadliest foe. "Three years ago," said Red Crow at one famous treaty meeting, "when the police first came to the country, I met and shook hands with Stamixotokon (the Indian name for Colonel Macleod), at Pelly River. Since then he made me many promises. He kept them all—not one of them was ever broken. Everything that the police have done has been good. I entirely trust Stamixotokon, and will leave everything to him." During the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway it was the North-West Mounted Police that kept the railroad camps in order and held the Indians in control or friendly. The settlers who first ventured into the untamed West owed their safety in many cases to the Riders of the Plains. When in 1885 the half-breeds, under Louis Riel, made their last stand against the new order of things, the police played their

COLONEL MACLEOD, OF THE ROYAL NORTH-WEST MOUNTED POLICE, TREATING WITH INDIANS AT FORT MACLEOD.

part nobly in keeping the old flag flying.

It is not claimed, of course, that the police were all of them Scots. But there has always been a good Scots leaven in the loaf, and Colonel Macleod is only typical of the stern and simple-hearted Northmen who stood for order and justice and devotion to duty in the ranks of that splendid force.

The mettle of this force was tried in the great Klondike rush of 1897 and 1898, when a police inspector had to be, according to the account of one of them, "chief magistrate, commander-in-chief, home and foreign secretary," all in one. The American police were hopelessly incompetent to deal with the disorders inevitable to the great stampede across the Chilkoot Pass. But with the aid of the North-West mounted men and Commissioner William Ogilvie, Dawson City was already, in 1898, a law-abiding city.

Ogilvie is one of the noblest figures in modern Canadian history. In 1887 he had been appointed to determine the boundary line between the Yukon and Alaska along the 141st meridian. The site of the future Dawson City was surveyed by him in 1896, during a trip on which he was for fifteen months out of

touch with civilisation. As miners and prospectors poured into the country in search of another Bonanza, Ogilvie became the referee in innumerable disputes as to the boundaries of mining claims, and his unimpeachable integrity won for him the respect even of that motley crowd. Although he might easily have become a millionaire many and many times over, he held that it was his duty as a Government official to do only his official work. He did not stake out for himself a single claim, and came out of the country as poor as when he entered it. The Government made no mistake when it appointed William Ogilvie as the first Commissioner of the Yukon in July, 1898.

The curiously complex undercurrent of Scottish blood that runs through Canadian history is illustrated by this name of Dawson City, a name which recalls a family of Scots-Canadians famous in the annals of Canadian science and Canadian exploration. George M. Dawson, Director of the Canadian Geological Survey, and his father, Sir J. W. Dawson, greatest of Canadian geologists, were both of them natives of that Scottish colony at Pictou, whose settlement has been described in an earlier chapter. The grandfather was

a tenant farmer from the north of Scotland, himself the son of a Dawson, who fought with Prince Charlie at Culloden.

William Ogilvie was not the first of the Scots to set foot in this far region of the Yukon. One of the highest Yukon peaks is named Mount Campbell, after Robert Campbell, a Hudson's Bay factor, who in 1840 was sent by Governor Simpson to explore this territory, and who founded Fort Selkirk, now a Government station on one of the routes to the Yukon goldfields. The barren lands between the Great Slave Lake, the Arctic, and the Pacific, are full of memories of the first adventurous Scots, pioneers trading and exploring in this far-flung north—George Simpson, Duncan Livingston, Alexander Mackenzie, George Keith, Trader Murray, builder of the first Fort Yukon, Chief Factor R. MacFarlane, and Chief Trader John M. M'Leod.

At the other northern limit of this same continent the Scot was also to the front. John M'Lean appears in 1837 in charge of the district of North Labrador for the Hudson's Bay Company, sent there by Governor Simpson to establish if possible an inland route between Ungava and Esquimaux Bay on the coast of Labrador, and to organise a trade with the

natives. To Labrador as his assistant came young Donald A. Smith, the future Lord Strathcona, to serve a stern apprenticeship for a still more strenuous life to come, and to gain a unique experience of the unsuspected wealth and untold possibilities of an inexhaustible Dominion.

CHAPTER XVII.

Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

The building of the Canadian Pacific Railway threw wide the gates of the great West, and Manitoba became the El Dorado of many a Scots lad. Some got there by their own hard savings, others were helped by such as Lady Gordon Cathcart, of Cluny Castle. Her womanly sympathy was roused by the misery of the crofters, and in spite of considerable criticism she helped a number of them out into the West. A casual reference some years ago by the present writer in an Aberdeen paper caught the attention of this lady, and drew from her a letter of inquiry. I therefore wrote to the then Commissioner of Immigration at Winnipeg, Mr. J. Obed Smith, and received the following reply:—

C

Refer to { Fyle No. 39599,210719
Let. No. 183654 }

Office of the
COMMISSIONER of IMMIGRATION,
Winnipeg, Manitoba, Nov. 7th, 1907.

"Sir,

"Your letter of the 27th ultimo was duly received, in which you state that

Lady Gordon Cathcart was anxious to know how the colony of crofters between Moosomin and Wapella was succeeding.

"Realising that Lady Gordon Cathcart would desire the information to be up to date, I have had to delay this matter until one of our inspectors could make the trip.

"I beg to report as follows:—

"The settlement in question was founded in 1883 when seven (7) families located there. In 1884 twenty-five (25) more families came. They were assisted by a loan of $500.00 advance in stock, provisions, etc., but poor crops subsequently left them behind with their payments. Many had to go out to work for a living, and apparently the company left a number of settlers a yoke of oxen, which enabled the people to make another start. Better years followed, good crops, better wages, and the people prospered.

"The first ten or twelve years were a struggle, but the young men grew up able to earn money, and the settlement to-day is all right and the people doing well. They have good buildings, good horses and cattle, good machinery and equipment, and the schools and churches are very good. The English language

is spoken exclusively by the younger people, but the older ones, although they speak English, prefer the mother tongue. The average cultivation of land for each settler would be about one hundred and fifty acres.

"The Inspector reports that the Lady Cathcart settlements in St. Andrews, Red Jacket, and Wapella districts are wealthy communities and independent, notwithstanding the early struggles in getting established.

"They also have good buildings, plenty of stock and implements. All that wanted to work succeeded well. They have good schools and churches, and the English language is generally spoken in the settlements.

"The settlers in question have retained gratifying memories of the generosity of Lady Gordon Cathcart, and she will be pleased to know that the people in whom she was personally interested now rank amongst our best settlers, and are successful in every respect.

"Your obedient servant,

(Signed) "J. Obed Smith,

"*Commissioner.*"

Two other human documents seem to find here a fitting place. They are re-

printed from the *Scotsman* of September 21st, 1888, and are copies of letters received from two of the emigrants who left Stornoway for Manitoba in the spring of that year. The first is from Angus Macdonald to his parents :—

"Killarney, Manitoba,
"August 7th, 1888.

"If you could see the crop that is in Manitoba you would say that you never saw a crop before. You was telling me that —— was giving you a bad account of the place that we came to, but you can tell him that he is a liar. There is not a better place in the whole world; there is not a better land under the sun than what it is here. We got a very good land. We are very well off here. I broke fourteen acres of my land, and if I be spared I shall have forty broke next year. I got a splendid ox and a good cow, and a heifer calf, plenty of milk and butter, and plenty to eat of everything. I got 200lbs. of pork, and six bolls of flour, and three oatmeal, we got that; and I am expecting one hundred barrels of potatoes. I planted an acre, and it is looking splendid. We can get the new potatoes already, but we had old potatoes. I am telling the truth in

everything. We got the house already; they are good houses. You was wanting me to tell you was it difficult of getting firewood and water. No; nothing of the two. I can take home in a day as much as last me two months, and we have very good water, nearly as good as the water that is in Widow D. Mackenzie's land. Dear parents, I would wish you all out here if you can get out. The harvest will soon commence here now. We will get two dollars a day and our board then. The lads that came out with us they are doing splendid.

"I am, yours truly son,
"ANGUS MACDONALD,
"Section 9.5.17, Killarney,
"Manitoba, N.A."

The second document is a letter to his father, from A. Graham, of the same place:—

"I suppose you would like to know what kind of place Manitoba is. I think it unequalled for the beauty of its landscape and the richness of the soil; also its inhabitants, for such friendly and kind-hearted people we never met with. It seems you have been told bad news about Manitoba, but it is all lies. This country is the best country in the world. When

we arrived in Quebec, Highlanders flocked to meet us, and told us we were going to the best place in America. It was all true. They gave us provisions and tobacco which managed us all the railway passage.

"Every place and station we passed, friends came to us and encouraged us. When we reached Killarney every head of a family got a team of oxen, plough, wagon, a house, a stove, provisions for three months, consisting of oatmeal and flour, pork, tea, sugar, syrup, pepper, tobacco, matches; and pots, frying pans, dishes, cake-pans, and many other articles required for American cookery and domestic work. Sir William Collins, Glasgow, supplied each family with two Bibles (Gaelic). This country is a little hotter than Lewis, but there is always a cool breeze throughout the day. I could work every day as well as I could in Lewis. We have the best water I ever tasted. The wells are from eight to thirty feet deep; ice on every one from year to year. The water is sweet, hard, and cold.

"Any one of our friends can bring home in half a day of firewood what would do for a month. There are two churches near us in the midst of our

friends (United Presbyterian). There are no Roman Catholics here except one Irishman. We expect to have a Gaelic minister here next Monday. I am engaged with the same I engaged with before. He is called Robert Smith, a God-fearing man. He preaches during the minister's absence. I had fifteen dollars the first month, twenty this month, and thirty the next month, with board and washing. William Macleod's house is only a few hundred yards from my home. The winter is not so very cold as they say in Lewis. Of course, it is a little colder than the old country. Mrs. John Campbell, Back, had a boy last week, the first Scots-Canadian born among us. Every one of the young men got 160 acres. We planted fifteen acres of potatoes for the married and single men for winter. They are planted on my master's farm.

"Although all the lads from Lewis would be here, they would get work and good pay. Most of the work is ploughing and farming work.

"I engaged for three months, but I can stay for years if I like to do so. He is the best master I ever had in my days.

"I would advise you to come here,

you would get on far better than in the old country; but yet I would not like you to come if it would break my mother's heart. This is one of the most healthy countries in the world.

"Hoping you will write at once, I am, your affectionate son,

"A. GRAHAM,
"Killarney P.O. Manitoba."

These are tales of a Scots settlement in Manitoba thirty years ago. Let me turn now a little farther West and tell the tale of a day I spent in a little town in Saskatchewan, just four years ago.

Indian Head is not a tourist haunt, but to those who fancy something more than scenery, this paradise of grain offers irresistible attraction. Here, more than a million and a half bushels of wheat are ripened every year, where not so long ago a solitary prairie trail, "like a wounded snake dragged its slow length along" the arid grass. Now twelve large elevators line the railway track, and one can drive for miles and miles out of a wide, well-built street, through a world of luxurious growth.

The air thrilled with the coming of harvest. A fiery sun had blazed all day, but now the evening and the full moon

had brought a sudden coolness. Fear for the moment gripped the farmer's heart. Little groups gathered round street corners telling gloomy tales — how ice had been seen on the road to the south, and what havoc frost had done in Minnesota. Morning brought relief. The nip of frost was light, and once more the blaze of sunshine encouraged fruition.

At a place with such a name as Indian Head it was natural to find some Indians, but what surprised me was to see an Indian woman wearing a fine plaid of the Gordon tartan. No doubt she had been attracted by the colours in some Hudson's Bay store, and the garment certainly was matched to her swarth complexion. This vision set my thoughts upon the home trail, and I put the question to a chance acquaintance whether any Scot was farming in the neighbourhood. "Go out and see John Murray," was the answer; "he is the best man we have round here." So out I went to John Murray, a three-mile drive along the road beside the rails.

Of course he came from Aberdeen! The rich Doric bewrayed him, as it bewrayeth many thousands of the best of the new Canadians. John Murray came from Banchory-Devenick, where he had

once been a blacksmith. I knew the shop at once when he pointed out a photograph upon the wall. John Murray might still have been a blacksmith had he not been bitten by the soil, and turned his heart off to farming. And such a farm! As he said, with his eyes twinkling, it made him feel "pretty well satisfied; it made a chap's eyes glad to look at wheat 70ins. high with such a head on it." Digging up potatoes for our midday meal, he remarked: "Ye dinna grow tatties like yon in Banchory-Devenick. If they saw me owning soil like yon in Aberdeen they'd a' tak' their hats aff to me." John Murray had six hundred and forty acres of that soil—one square mile of deep black loam, that grew its thirty-five bushels to the acre, and the finest wheat in Canada. He had eleven head of cattle and a fine plant of machinery for rapid harvesting, and was about to build a new house.

John Murray had a sturdy faith in the Scot. He said he could tell a Scotsman's farm in Canada simply by the look of it. The Scot, he said, could teach the Canadian farming, just as he could teach him blacksmithing. If all the Scots farms in Canada were like John Murray's I could well believe him.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Flood Tide of Emigration.

In this brief monograph many things have been omitted and many names may be missed. This represents rather the elaboration of an idea than the encyclopædia of a nation; the idea of a race movement impelled by the pressure of circumstance and spirit of adventure, and controlled by a subconscious clannishness, or sticking together.

As for the pressure of circumstance, I am reminded of a conversation with the Hon. Frank Oliver, Canadian Minister of the Interior. Mr. Oliver had recently returned to Canada from Scotland, a country which he had long desired to see so that he might visit the historic glens from which so many a Canadian had come, or rather, had been driven. He had been moved by the tales of those whose parents had had to leave their valleys to make room for sheep, or who themselves had been ousted for the red deer. "And yet," he told me, "when I saw the actual soil of these historic glens, and compared it with the deep black loam of our fertile western prairies, I

came to the conclusion that those harsh landlords who had driven their people out across the seas to Canada should all have statues raised to them as benefactors of mankind."

One trusts that Elder St. Peter will see that these landlords get credit in Heaven for what they put into the plate.

The spirit of adventure carried the exiled Scot far beyond the confines of the St. Lawrence. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Ontario were only half-way houses on the north-west trail. The Scottish settler and explorer cleared new pathways through the forest to the wide western prairies and up into the Barren Lands and over the Rockies to the winds and waters of the Pacific.

The secret of the Scots was this: they were able to adapt themselves to any circumstance, they had faith in themselves, and they stuck together. In Canada to-day there are close upon a million citizens of Scots descent or birth. They are only one-eighth of the total population, but they hold among them more than one-half of the positions worth having. The best passport for any immigrant into Canada to-day is to speak with a Scots accent. One occasionally sees

CRAIGELLACHIE—DRIVING THE LAST SPIKE OF THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY.

the notice in connection with some situation, "No English need apply." If any Canadian had the temerity to say, "No Scots need apply," he would not only advertise himself a fool, but he would also probably be lynched.

There are close upon a million Scots in Canada to-day. Within another twenty years that number will at least be doubled. The chiefs who so often have betrayed their trust have doomed the Scottish highlands to be the playground of the rich. Now the playground of the rich is no home for the self-respecting worker, and as the Scottish peasant and the Scottish farmer are neither of them fools, they are clearing out and moving to a land where honest work is wanted, where land is put to its proper use, where land may still be had at a reasonable price, and may be owned, not merely rented, and where at the same time they can be sure of finding so many relatives and friends, and so many Scots as neighbours, that it must be easy to make a new home there. They can still be Scots in Canada.

From the lone sheiling of the misty island,
  Mountains divide us and the waste of seas.
Yet still the blood is strong, the heart is Highland,
  And we in dreams behold the Hebrides.

It would be folly to suggest that every Scot who goes to Canada will succeed. The reader of these pages must have seen that the Scot has won his position in Canada to-day only through strenuous work. But the days of isolated pioneering are now practically over, and steamers and trains have been so improved that emigration is made easy. Between the brig *Jean* of 1819, the first Allan Line boat, and the Canadian Pacific, the Allan, or the Donaldson Line steamers of to-day, almost as vast a difference may be found as between the *Great Eastern* and Noah's Ark. In the West the railroad builders are still at work adding a thousand miles and more of track each year.

Success, however, lies not in the ease of transportation or the accident of birth, but in the character of the Scot himself. If he has the grit of those other million Scots who have gone before him and succeeded, he need have no fear. Canada has this message for him:

I am the land that listens; I am the land that broods,
Steeped in eternal beauty, crystalline water and woods
I wait for the man who will win me, and I will not be won in a day;
And I will not be won by weaklings, subtle, suave, and mild,
But by men with the hearts of Vikings, and the simple faith of a child.

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